Multiculture and the Experience of Refugee Settlement:

A Multi-Stakeholder Case Study of Refugee Settlement in Liverpool, UK

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Abbreviations

CoS	City of Sanctuary
ECOC	European Capital of Culture
EU	European Union
HMO	House of Multiple Occupancy
LCR-CA	Liverpool City Region - Combined Authority

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by me and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for the award of any other degree.

Signed: _____

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Abstract

Title: Multiculture and the Experience of Refugee Settlement:
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Author: Samantha Jane Carney **Award:** PhD.

This multi-stakeholder case study examines experiences and responses to refugee settlement at a city and neighbourhood level in Liverpool, UK. As a site for this research, Liverpool has a unique history, particularly regarding migration, settlement and race relations. Further, the city plays an important role within the administration of the asylum system and the settlement of refugees and asylum seekers in the contemporary era. However, despite the intrinsic value of research within Liverpool, to date, there has been limited research seeking to explore experiences and responses to refugee settlement in the city. Given that this research has a specific focus on the way that refugee settlement plays out at a local level, the study is situated within a 'local turn' in migration and refugee studies. There is a strong body of literature that explores the distinct ways migration and settlement play out in different local settings. However, there is limited understanding of refugee settlement as a lived and negotiated dynamic. This research addresses this limitation, adopting a multi-stakeholder approach to examine the lived experience of refugee settlement from multiple perspectives.

Employing a combination of methods, including 71 semi-structured interviews, this research explores the way that refugee settlement plays out in a city that is rapidly diversifying. In this regard, the study draws upon the concept of *Everyday Multiculture* as a way of thinking through both the experience of settlement and the practices employed as a way of learning to live with and negotiate difference. This study contributes to existing writing on multiculture, gaining empirical insight into the quiet tensions that multiculture can obscure. Furthermore, the study points to these tensions not only as hidden by multiculture but as simultaneously fracturing yet informing the practices which underpin it.
Key Words: Refugee, Asylum Seeker, Migration, Multiculture, Conviviality, Convivial tools, Super-diversity, Welcome, Encounter

Chapter 1: Introduction and Rationale

1.1 Introduction

This thesis presents the findings of an innovative multi-stakeholder case study exploring the experience of refugee settlement in Liverpool, UK. In this regard, the research is the first full-length study on refugee settlement of its kind within this context. Employing a combination of methods, this research seeks to explore the way that refugee settlement is currently playing out in the context of a city that is growing and rapidly diversifying. As a site for this research, the history of Liverpool, particularly regarding migration, settlement and race relations, provides an interesting contextual backdrop to the contemporary experiences of settlement currently unfolding. Indeed, as the findings of this thesis capture, this history is widely regarded as shaping a city-level ethos of welcome. Within this context, the current research examines the way that this history and ethos play out alongside contemporary experiences of settlement, as actualised here through refugee settlement and the dispersal of people seeking asylum. Furthermore, the study captures a shifting and evolving multiculture, identifying not only the new geographies of multiculture that these experiences of settlement open up but also the everyday practices and negotiations that they shape.

In this introductory chapter, I aim to describe further the details of the current research and contents of this thesis. The chapter will introduce the topic at hand, outlining the research questions and providing a rationale for this research. In doing so, this chapter locates the current study within the existing literature and research context, thus highlighting the theoretical and empirical gaps that this study seeks to address. The chapter closes with an outline of the structure of this thesis, offering a summary of the content of the 8 chapters into which this thesis is organised.

1.2 Research context

This research focuses on investigating the experiences of refugee settlement at a local level within Liverpool, UK. However, following Wise (2014) whilst the research approaches the study of refugee settlement through an everyday lens, it is not closed off from the wider national and global contexts. Rather, this study engages with the way that this context continues to shape the atmosphere in which local experiences and negotiations of welcome and refuge play out (Payson, 2015). In the section which follows, I will offer a brief discussion on this wider context, with a specific focus on discourses and events that have shaped (and continue to shape) the focus of the current study.

Photograph 1: Migration = Welfare Cuts. Taken by S. Carney, October 2017.

The focus of this research was initially prompted by an increasingly negative discourse around the issue of immigration in the UK, particularly in the wake of the so-called refugee 'crisis' (see, for example, Collyer and King, 2016). At its peak in 2015, approximately 1,325,000 migrants reached Europe in the hope of seeking refuge (Refugee Council, 2017). Home Office figures for 2017 (those closest to the planning phase of this project) suggest 15,618 migrants reached the UK and made a claim for asylum (Home Office, 2017). Whilst the UK has a history of migration and providing refuge, those displaced from the states of the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s are one example of this, this particular flow of migrants is marked out by a narrative of crisis (Colley and King, 2016). Greussing and Boomgaarten (2017), point

to the framing of this particular flow as an economic crisis as a key aspect of this narrative.

This economization of refuge – the portrayal of refugees and people seeking asylum as a burden – is not only prevalent in the rhetoric of UKIP in the build-up to the 2015 General Election and Brexit vote (Dennison and Goodwin, 2015; Goodwin and Milazzo, 2017) but also as part of the justification for policies such as dispersal. Dispersal was introduced under the provisions of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 (Clements, 2001) and was presented as a way of sharing the 'burden' of asylum seekers away from London and the South East to other areas across the country (Phillips, 2006b). Whilst, dispersal was, initially, carried out in partnership with local authorities, the outsourcing of dispersal accommodation in 2010 effectively bypassed local authority involvement (Darling, 2016).

Running alongside an anti-immigrant discourse, the UK was also in the midst of austerity measures imposed in 2010. At the time of designing this research, Liverpool City Council had experienced a 58% cut in its budget – the impact of which hit the most deprived areas of the city hardest (see, for example, Ryan, 2017). Within the context of austerity, migrants were increasingly framed as putting extra pressure on already scarce resources (Tuckett, 2017). The photograph above, taken in one of Liverpool's most deprived areas, captures graffiti that not only portrays migrants as an economic burden but also scapegoats migrants (and immigration) as a driver of the economic problems unfolding in the city. This graffiti prompted an interest in exploring tensions between a welcoming disposition and the experiences of refugee settlement that were unfolding within this context.

As this project progressed, the wider context in which it is set has continued (and continues) to evolve. Whilst the number of asylum claims peaked in 2016 (36,546 claims), official figures indicate an 11% increase between 2019 and 2020 (Home Office, 2020). During this time, the backlash to the Windrush Scandal placed a spotlight on the hostile environment

(Rawlinson and Gentleman, 2019). In response to the Windrush Review[1], the current home secretary, Priti Patel[2] has signalled an intent to shift towards a more compassionate approach to immigration. However, at the same time, the introduction of increasingly restrictive immigration measures and the recent hostile response to migrants crossing the channel suggests that the issues at the heart of this research will continue to be of interest for the foreseeable future. Whilst the current study has been undertaken within a rapidly changing context, the findings presented here offer crucial insight into the way that this context filters down to the everyday, playing into the experience of settlement at a local level.

1.3Turning to the local: migration and refugee settlement in UK cities

Through a focus on refugee settlement at a local level, the current study contributes to a growing body of literature that focuses on the local in relation to experiences of migration and refugee settlement. Focussing on the local level in this way draws attention to the distinct ways that these experiences play out across different localities (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2015; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). Within the field of migration studies, the so-called 'local turn' has emerged in response to a tendency to approach the study of migration in relation to the nation-state (Berg and Sigona, 2013; Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2008) - an approach resting on the assumption that experiences in one location are representative of the nation as a whole (Vathi, 2011). As a result, not only does this assumption obscure the distinct experiences of interest to Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2017), but it also presents the nation as a container for a set of social and cultural norms (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2003), thus reinforcing the perception that migrants, as 'outsiders', are intruders within these bounded social and cultural spaces (Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2008).

[1] Windrush Lessons Learned Review – 2020 available at https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/windrush-lessons-learned-review
[2] Priti Patel outlined the government's response to the findings of the review in a speech to the House of Commons on 21/7/2020. The full speech can be accessed here: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/the-windrush-lessons-learned-review-update

It is within this shift to the local that a focus on the city as a space of immigration (Brettel, 2000) and refuge (Sanyal, 2012) has become prominent, driven, as Sanyal (2012) maintains, by the growing numbers of refugees living within cities. However, whilst a focus on the city is warranted by the urbanisation of refuge, these studies are limited by a tendency to focus on migrant 'gateway' cities (Glick Schiller et al., 2006). Not only are these cities typically associated with the initial settlement of migrants (Price and Benton-Short, 2008; Vathi, 2011), but the positionality of these cities in relation to power, potentially, affords migrants better access to opportunities than they would have in other cities (Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2016). Acknowledging this differential relationship of localities within hierarchies of power, Glick Schiller and Caglar (2009) put forward the concept of city-scale, positioning cities along a continuum of power ranging from top-scale to down-scale cities.

In comparison to London, a typical 'gateway' city, Liverpool occupies a position lower down this continuum. Further, as a city still in the process of rebuilding and regenerating following a period of decline, Liverpool is also a relatively disempowered city. Disempowerment, in this regard, emerges not only from the memory of economic decline but from a sense of loss over the city's diminished status (Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2018). However, there are indications that Liverpool's position is shifting. The success of European Capital of Culture (ECOC) has kickstarted economic regeneration, leading to a growing tourism industry (see, for example, Raymond, 2010). Further, as part of the 2015 devolution agreement with central government[3], the city has additional powers and increased funding. The current study, then, seeks to address this gap in the literature, engaging with experiences of settlement in a less empowered city, albeit one that is, seemingly, in the process of up-scaling.

Whilst an appreciation of the local setting is advocated in the literature, Hinger et al. (2016), suggest that within the field, scholars are still

[3] As part of the devolution agreement, the Liverpool City Region Combined Authority has been created, made up of Liverpool and its surrounding boroughs (Halton, Knowsley, Sefton, St, Helens and the Wirral). LCR-CA has additional powers, relating to transport, adult education, housing and development as well as an additional investment fund.

grappling with the question of what to focus on. Responding to this question, scholars have approached the examination of the local setting from a range of perspectives and in relation to different features or aspects of the local. One approach to the local is through a focus on the agency of cities within the processes of reception and settlement (Doomernik and Ardon, 2018). In this regard, existing literature has focused on the ways that cities can assert their agency to contest or push back against exclusionary and hostile national policies (Bauder, 2017).

In their writings on the City of Sanctuary movement, for example, both Darling (2010) and Bagelman (2013) frame local authority support for the sanctuary movement in relation to the role that cities play within an increasingly hostile environment. Bagelman (2013: 50) frames the sanctuary movement as easing or smoothing a “violent temporality of waiting” at the heart of the asylum process, providing, as per Rotter (2010), spaces through which waiting can be made meaningful. In this regard, Bagelman problematises the sanctuary movement, arguing that easing the wait depoliticises this liminality rather than challenging or interrupting it.

For Darling (2010), on the other hand, City of Sanctuary opens up the possibility for cities to rethink how they approach welcome and refuge. This framing of the city as an agent in the process of settlement underpins emerging projects that aim to improve the way cities respond to, and support, refugee settlement. Inclusive Cities (Broadhead, 2017), which facilitates collaboration and knowledge sharing across 5 UK cities, including Liverpool, is one example of this. Whilst existing literature on movements such as City of Sanctuary have contributed useful insights into the agency of the city in relation to refugee settlement, the current study makes an empirical contribution to an understanding of both the sanctuary movement and the potential for the city to disrupt the hostile environment. In doing so, this study offers fresh insight from a less researched city that is at a different stage in the process of rethinking its approach to refuge.

Whilst the literature above explores the city as it relates to a local politics of refuge, other scholars shift the focus towards specific features of

the local as a way of thinking through the varying experiences of settlement across the UK. Within this field, Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2015: 476) foreground the “contextual, compositional and collective aspects of place” in determining integration outcomes. Whilst I maintain that a focus on ‘outcomes’ obscures the impact of place on the everyday negotiation and experiences of settlement, this foregrounding of the specificities of place is useful for understanding the way refugee settlement plays out within a specific local context on a day to day basis.

Within existing literature, specific features of the local setting, including histories and narratives of migration (Hickman and Mai, 2015) and experiences of urban deprivation (Hynes, 2009; Phillips, 2006a; Spicer, 2008) are found to play into attitudes towards refugees. Resonating with the earlier writings of Brettel (2000), Hickman and Mai (2015), suggest that narratives of place which frame migration as integral to the history and identity of the city give rise to a positive outlook towards new immigration. Meanwhile, in her writing on experiences of dispersal, Phillips (2006) suggests that dispersal into areas of deprivation can exacerbate locals’ suspicion of migrants.

Existing literature has, then, made an insightful contribution to an understanding of the impact of the local context. However, there remains limited understanding about the interplay between specific features of place in light of experiences of refugee settlement. In the context of the current study, for example, Liverpool’s history of migration is broadly acknowledged as playing into an outlook that is open and welcoming to newcomers. However, there remains a gap in knowledge regarding how these narratives play out and are recast in light of more recent experiences of welcome actualised through the dispersal of asylum seekers into existing areas of urban deprivation.

Alongside an appreciation of the local setting, per se, the turn to the local has led to an emerging interest in the way that refugee settlement is experienced in everyday spaces. Mirroring literature on the lived experience of diversity (see, for example, Neal et al., 2015), there has been some

interest in the role that encounter plays in shaping experiences of refugee settlement. Positive encounter is framed as giving rise to an accumulated sense of welcome (Darling, 2018; Gill, 2018). Further, it is through encounter that migrants form social relations, making a crucial difference to experiences of settlement (Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2018).

As part of the turn to the local, then, engaging with the everyday experience of refugee settlement is crucial to understanding refugee settlement as a lived experience within a local context. However, Goodson and Gryzmala-Kazlowska (2017), argue that the existing literature is limited by a groupist (see Brubaker, 2006) tendency. That is, experiences are, largely, explored through a focus on one particular group (see also Meissner and Vertovec, 2015), obscuring not only the heterogeneity within local populations but also the everyday negotiation of refugee settlement between various stakeholders. The current study aims to address this gap, firstly, through a multi-stakeholder analysis of refugee settlement. With this in mind, the current study engages with multiple perspectives (including, residents, refugees, councillors and other key informants) – an approach which better facilitates an exploration of refugee settlement as a negotiated and interpersonal dynamic.

Further, the current study adopts broad definitions of the categories of resident and refugee. Whilst this broad-brush approach is discussed in more depth in chapter 4, at this stage, I would like to highlight the significance of the approach I adopt towards those included as refugees in this study. The approach employed here moves beyond the constraints of the legal application of the label refugee, including within it people seeking asylum. This approach allows the study to draw out temporal dimensions of refuge that are, largely, missing in the existing literature, capturing a broader range of experiences otherwise obscured by a focus on those who have refugee status.

1.4 Approaching Liverpool as a site for research.

The preceding discussion has drawn attention to the recent turn to the local in migration studies, with a focus on refugee settlement. It is within this field that the proposed research is situated, here turning to the local as a way of examining experiences of refugee settlement within Liverpool. Beyond contributing insight into experiences of settlement in a location other than a typical gateway city, as a site for research on this topic, Liverpool presents as an interesting location for a case study.

Firstly, the history(s) of Liverpool, particularly regarding migration and settlement is commonly framed as evidence of a cosmopolitan past (see, for example, Lawton and Cunningham, 1970). Not only has this reading of Liverpool's history played into the branding of Liverpool as 'the world in one city' (see Kruger, 2014) it is also found to give rise to a city-level ethos of welcome. However, experiences of segregation, racial discrimination and sectarianism, which I discuss in more depth in chapter 3, point to a city with a more troubled relationship with migration and settlement – a relationship that, potentially, has implications for the way that contemporary experiences of refugee settlement play out. Given this specific history of Liverpool and its roots in colonial Britain, this study could follow the lead of Mayblin (2017) and approach refugee settlement through a post-colonial lens, exploring how this experience plays out in the legacy of empire. However, I maintain that to do so would channel this study down a restrictive route, potentially obscuring other factors and dynamics at play as linked to Liverpool's contemporary history.

Further to Liverpool's history of migration, contemporary experiences of settlement continue to unfold and shape the city. Alongside a growing population, Liverpool is undergoing a period of diversification; Liverpool's Black and Minority Ethnic population more than doubled between 2001 and 2011 (see Liverpool City Council, 2013). For Pemberton (2017b), the changing population in the city, particularly with regards to the pace of diversification, is evidence of emerging super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007). Alongside the pace of this change, the spread (Pemberton, 2017b) or

'dispersal of diversity' (Neal et al., 2013) that is unfolding as part of this process is of interest to the focus of the current study.

Whilst by no means accounting for all of this spread, conversations with policymakers indicate that the dispersal of asylum seekers[4], particularly since dispersal accommodation contracts were outsourced, have played a role in driving this spread (as per Neal et al., 2013) away from traditionally ethnically diverse areas into those with limited experience of accommodating diversity. When thinking through the (super)diversification of the city, the current study approaches it as opening up newer geographies of encounter (Robinson, 2010), through which residents learn to negotiate and live with (although not necessarily happily) difference. The current research, then, offers the possibility of studying super-diversification as it takes place, a process, largely, missing from existing super-diversities literature. Further, given the dispersal of diversity across the city, this research also gains insight into the processes of encountering and learning to live with (or manage) difference.

In relation to contemporary experiences of refugee settlement, Liverpool plays an important role, not only as a city which seeks to welcome refugees but also within the administration of the asylum system. Liverpool is the location of one of the administrative hubs of the Home Office, which processes asylum claims and is the only place in England where appeals against failed asylum claims can be lodged – a role that is framed as playing into an increasing homelessness crisis in the city (see Thorp, 2017). In this regard, Liverpool could be framed as part of the infrastructure of an increasingly hostile environment.

At the same time, my conversations[5] with policymakers and councillors, indicate a desire to push back against the hostile environment

[4] Liverpool has been a dispersal area since 2000

[5] Some of these conversations took place during my Master's research (2017) – which focussed on welcoming refugees as an act of peace-building – others took place in the early (design/planning) stages of my PhD

and to find ways of doing ‘welcome’ differently. As part of this push-back, in 2012, Liverpool City Council became a signatory of the City of Sanctuary movement. The city also responded positively to David Cameron’s request for help supporting the settlement of Syrian Refugees (through the scheme known as the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Programme) and, in 2018, the city council passed a motion against immigration detention (These Walls Must Fall, 2018). Approaching Liverpool as the site for this research, then, offers the possibility of exploring the tensions that emerge between the city's involvement in the hostile environment and its signalled commitment to being a city of sanctuary and refuge.

Finally, my early conversations with policymakers in the city suggested that the council has a clear understanding of the infrastructure and systems in place to support this push to improve how the city welcomes. However, within the local authority, there remains a gap in understanding around the way that refugee settlement plays out on a day to day basis. Responding to this gap, the focus of the current study has been motivated by my commitment to informing policy and practice within the city. To this end, my commitment to making a difference within this context takes the shape of the policy implications included within this thesis and my engagement with policymakers and other stakeholders throughout this project.

1.5: The Current Study

This chapter has situated this research within existing scholarly discussions and introduced specific features of the local context. Building on to these observations, the current study was presented with a set of methodological and theoretical challenges that have shaped the innovative approaches employed in this research.

Firstly, the case study approach employed in this research was designed as a way of capturing the distinct ways that settlement plays out at both the neighbourhood and city-level. In this regard, at the neighbourhood level, the spreading out of diversity (Pemberton, 2017b) and the creation of new geographies of encounter, point to a need for research to shed light on

the way that refugee settlement is mediated and negotiated through these encounters. At the same time, the push and pull of a city which positions itself as welcoming - as a city of sanctuary - whilst working within and, as such, perpetuating, the hostile environment, shifted attention to the city level and a need to explore how this tension plays out. In order to meet these challenges, this study adopts an embedded, qualitative case study design – an approach which allowed for the study of the everyday experience of refugee settlement as it plays out at a neighbourhood level, alongside a broader overview of the picture at the city-level. As the findings presented in this thesis will show, approaching refugee settlement across both levels not only captures these distinct experiences but also gains empirical insight into the gaps and tensions which emerge between them.

Whilst research at a local level, in a less empowered city, was one aspect of my approach to avoid the pitfalls of methodological nationalism, I acknowledge that study at the city-level can still replicate these tendencies (and, in doing so, present the city as a container). With this in mind, at the neighbourhood-level, the embedded design of this research included fieldwork in 5 contrasting areas of the city: Anfield, Greenbank, Kensington and Fairfield[6], Norris Green and Woolton. I present a more detailed account of my approach to selecting these areas in chapter 4. However, briefly, in choosing these areas I was guided by several factors: the (limited) data available on the accommodation of asylum seekers across the city; levels of deprivation at a ward level; levels of ethnic diversity at a ward level; and, geographic spread. This approach enabled the current study to avoid presenting Liverpool, and the experiences and responses to refugee settlement within it, as a homogenous unit (Goodson and Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2017). Further, in combination with the multi-stakeholder analysis featured here, this approach enabled the current study to build as full a picture as possible of the experience of refugee settlement across contrasting areas of the city.

[6] Whilst Kensington and Fairfield is the official name of this administrative ward, in this thesis, I adopt the more commonly used name Kensington to refer to this area.

Finally, in order to approach the neighbourhood as a way into thinking about experiences of refugee settlement and how they unfold in a rapidly diversifying city, I draw on the concept of *everyday multiculture*. As stated above, Liverpool is undergoing a period of diversification, actualised in part through the dispersal of asylum seekers. This process of diversification has opened new geographies of multiculture, which, as this thesis will show, can disrupt a sense of place. In this thesis, I argue that the strength of everyday multiculture, particularly given the context of the current study, is that it offers a lens for thinking through the everyday practices and negotiations that are part of the process of learning to live with difference (Wise, 2014).

Alongside the empirical contribution this study makes to existing writing on everyday multiculture, this thesis seeks to make a theoretical contribution to our understanding of the tensions that exist within multiculture. In this regard, the current study heeds the criticisms aimed at writing on multiculture as romanticizing encounter (Valentine, 2008), potentially obscuring hidden tensions (Hardy, 2014). To this end, not only does this study seek to unpack and make visible these hidden tensions but it also contributes insight into tension as simultaneously fracturing yet informing the practices which underpin and hold multiculture, however precariously, in place.

1.6 Research aims and questions

The overall stated aim of this research is to explore experiences of and responses to the settlement of refugees currently unfolding in Liverpool. This thesis is articulated around three main research questions, listed below, which seek to address the aim of this study with an increasing level of intimacy. To this end, the questions are formulated as such: firstly, there is a focus on exploring experiences and framings of place and how these are articulated around the concept of welcome; secondly, the questions probe everyday encounter and routine negotiations of difference; and, finally, at its most intimate, the study addresses concerns and tensions which, for the most part, are obscured by everyday practices. Given that this is a multi-

stakeholder study, the lines of enquiry which shaped my data collection questions differed between stakeholder groups allowing me to address my questions from multiple perspectives. With regards to this, I have included a copy of my interview schedule for residents, refugees and people seeking asylum in the appendices to this thesis (see Appendix F and G).

The following research questions underpin this study:

1. To what extent are experiences of refugee settlement informed by, or related to, the positioning of Liverpool as 'welcoming'?
2. What practices and strategies underpin these experiences, and to what extent do they hold multiculture in place?
3. What vulnerabilities and tensions exist within this evolving everyday multiculture?

1.7 Overview of the thesis

In the section that follows, I present a summary of the eight chapters which make up this thesis. This section provides an overview of the key themes and arguments that shape each chapter and the thesis as a whole.

Chapter one, the present chapter, introduces this thesis, focussing on the main rationale for this study and the research context. This chapter situates my research within existing scholarly debates providing an initial review of extant literature, including, for example, writings on the topic of refugee settlement in the UK and the impact of place on experiences of it. It is through surveying the literature in this way that the chapter can explore research gaps, thus creating a research space for the current study.

The aim of **chapter two** is to provide an in-depth discussion around the theories and concepts which provide a framework for this study. Given that the conceptual framework employed in this study draws on the concept of everyday multiculture, the chapter begins by contrasting multiculture, framed as the reality of living with difference (Watson, 2017), with multiculturalism as a top-down approach to managing difference (Malik, 2010). Here, I argue that whilst there has, largely, been a disengagement

with the politics of multiculturalism, multiculture, on the other hand, refers to a lived reality in a diversifying city, such as Liverpool. As such, engaging with multiculture, how it is shaped and held in place, offers crucial insight into the way that refugee settlement, as part of the process of diversification, plays out at a local level. Moving on, chapter 2 focuses on unpacking related concepts and theories which underpin the conceptual framework employed in this study, including, for example, encounter, conviviality and welcome.

Given that this research employs a case study design, focussing on Liverpool as the case in hand, **chapter three** aims to provide a substantial contextual basis for this study. This chapter offers insight into the history of Liverpool, particularly with regards to its history of migration, settlement, race and segregation, which as later chapters will show continues to shape narratives of welcome and attitudes towards migrants. This chapter traces key aspects of the city's history, moving from the economic drivers of migration and the positioning of Liverpool as the second city of the empire to the decline of the port as a driver of outward migration and economic depression. More recent patterns of migration and diversification are also researched with the purpose of setting the scene for the original findings of this thesis.

Chapter four presents the methodological approach and methods employed in this study. The chapter opens with a short section on epistemology, outlining the constructivist approach, which has shaped this study, both in terms of the questions this study explores and the qualitative methods that have been employed. This chapter lays out the case-study approach utilised in this research, giving an in-depth account of the innovative embedded design which allowed me to address some of the methodological challenges posed by this study. This specific design was employed to allow in-depth study at a neighbourhood level across 5 areas (Anfield, Greenbank, Kensington and Fairfield, Norris Green and Woolton), alongside study at the city-level. Thus, whilst the research gains a broad overview at the city-level, research at the neighbourhood level helps this study to avoid a groupist methodology that could, potentially, present the city and those within it as a homogenous mass (Goodson & Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2017). This chapter also outlines the approaches to sampling,

centred around the construction of a sample that was as diverse as possible, whilst also driven by a desire that this study better reflects the heterogeneity and multi-layered nature of the population. Methods of data collection and data analysis are presented before the chapter takes on a more reflective tone as it deals with ethical considerations, researcher positionality and potential limitations.

Chapters five, six and seven consist of the empirical sections of this thesis, presenting the findings of the data collected during my fieldwork. Each of these chapters contributes to a fuller picture of the way that refugee settlement plays out in Liverpool, whilst also tackling one of the main research questions noted above. **Chapter five** addresses the first of my research questions, focussing on narratives and notions of welcome to understanding the way that refugee settlement plays out in a city which is positioned as welcoming. Whilst this chapter captures the emergence of a discursive city-level ethos of welcome, it is argued that tensions emerge when the narratives and visions of welcome, which give rise to this ethos, are contrasted with contemporary experiences of welcome actualised through dispersal and refugee settlement. Chapter five also explores the notion of welcome from different perspectives, offering insight into the way that notions of welcome are shaped and the encounters, experiences and expectations which can give rise to, and potentially disrupt, a sense of (un)welcome.

In chapter six, my analysis turns to the second research question with a focus on multiculture and the everyday practices which hold it in place. Whilst established residents maintain that multiculture and experiences of diversity are grounded in the history of the city, this chapter points to an understanding that this multiculture is evolving, disrupting patterns of settlement and diversity; thus, a shifting multiculture is framed as opening up new geographies of multiculture and diversity (Robinson, 2010). Through the narrations of participants, the chapter gives insight into the role played by encounter in experiences of multiculture. Encounter, in this chapter, is found to facilitate the production of difference (Darling and Wilson, 2016), disrupting notions of place and familiarity, whilst also providing the opportunity to develop convivial, at times pragmatic, practices which hold multiculture in place.

My final empirical chapter, **chapter seven**, continues to unpack experiences of multiculture. However, the focus here shifts from the practices which hold it in place to the tensions that these practices, potentially, obscure (Hardy, 2017; Valentine, 2008). With regards to these tensions, the chapter focusses on widespread ‘quiet tensions’, articulated around specific concerns, such as the economic implications of refugee settlement, whilst also co-existing alongside an otherwise positive and open outlook towards others. The accounts captured within this chapter offer insight into the way that these tensions play out and are negotiated. Through their experiences of these tensions, the narratives of migrants and established residents give insight into the practices and strategies that they develop to allow them to manage and quieten them. Thus, this chapter argues that not only can tensions be obscured by convivial practices, but they can also inform and shape them.

Chapter eight, The final chapter returns to my research questions, bringing my findings into a discussion with the theoretical framework introduced in chapter 2. In doing so, this chapter highlights the empirical and theoretical contributions of this study. To close this thesis, I look beyond its academic contributions, discussing the policy implications of this study before commenting on my exit from the field.

Chapter 2: Everyday Multiculture: A Theoretical Approach

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I aim to outline and discuss the theoretical and conceptual framework that underpins this research. The chapter is organised into two parts, closing with a brief conclusion. I open the chapter with a discussion of the main theoretical approach employed in this research: Everyday Multiculture. In this discussion, I will explore how this approach has emerged in the literature. Drawing from the work of Watson (2017) I argue that multiculturalism in this sense is not given or imposed by policy, rather it is rooted and held in place by the actions and practices of individuals within that locality. The first part of this chapter will draw from literature within this field to construct a framework for understanding the practices upon which it is made, alongside the vulnerabilities that can undermine and fracture it. Further, given my focus on understanding how refugee settlement and an evolving multiculture play out in light of a narrative of welcome, this part of the chapter will close with a section on welcome.

Having outlined the theoretical perspective employed in this research, the second part of this chapter will move on to discuss the concepts which are related to this study; *place, trust, and social change*. These concepts are important to this study because they underpin the everyday multiculture approach employed in this research. The concept of place is the starting point for this discussion. Given that the theoretical approach outlined in this chapter is rooted in a local context, with the assumption that locality matters, it is important to unpack the concept of place, how it is constructed and how that construction impacts on everyday experiences and responses to difference. The discussion then moves on to discuss the notion of trust and how refugee settlement in a local area can impact upon this. Finally, I close the second part of this chapter with a discussion on social change and complexity theory.

Part One

2.2 The everyday lens

In seeking to understand the experience of refugee settlement at a local level, this study situates itself within an emerging field advocating for research that explores everyday responses to difference (Harris, 2009; Radford, 2016; Werbner, 2013). Moving beyond an ethnic approach to difference, the current study approaches difference in relation to multiple, intersecting modes of differentiation, including gender, social class, legal status and language (Foner et al., 2019). This focus on the everyday is aligned with the work of earlier sociologists, such as De Certeau (1984), who argued that the everyday provides a useful lens through which to glimpse the reality of social life. In seeking to explore refugee settlement as it plays out at a local level, the current research employs the concept of Everyday Multiculture. In the context of this research, the everyday provides a lens for understanding and engaging with the experience of refugee settlement (Fox and Jones, 2013). However, it is important to note that this perspective is not closed off from the wider national or global context, such as immigration policy and media discourse (Amin, 2002; Wise, 2007). Rather, this perspective is interested in understanding how these wider issues play out at a local level (Wise, 2007) because it is at the local level that negotiation of difference occurs (Amin, 2002; Peterson, 2017).

2.2.1 Multiculturalism: policy focus or lived reality?

This study draws on the concept of multiculture as a way of approaching refugee settlement as lived and negotiated within a local setting. In the literature, multiculture or everyday multiculturalism is presented as a way of approaching and challenging an increasingly negative discourse surrounding multiculturalism within the UK, providing a counter-narrative of positive experiences of living with differences (Watson, 2017; Wise, 2013). Given the positioning of multiculture within (or against) these debates around multiculturalism, it is necessary to include here a brief outline of its emergence as a political ideology.

Multiculturalism is thought to have emerged predominantly in Canada and Australia during the 1960s and 1970s. Whilst in both countries multicultural policies addressed the relationship between the state and indigenous people, in Australia, the focus was originally on the assimilation of new immigrants (Modood, 2016). Thus, even in its earliest iterations multiculturalism was employed in a range of ways in relation to different issues and situations (Colombo, 2015), for example, constitutional rights and citizenship, land ownership, and integration. When thinking about multiculturalism and its application in policy, it is, then, hard to neatly sum-up its focus (Ashcroft and Bevir, 2018; Colombo, 2015). However, Modood (2016: 1) offers a broad definition, framing multiculturalism as the "political accommodation of minority cultures".

In the context of the UK, while the principles of multiculturalism are not set down in one central piece of legislation (Mathieu, 2017), there is an acknowledged multicultural outlook (Kivisto and Faist, 2007; Mathieu, 2017). According to Mathieu, it is hard to trace the emergence of multiculturalism in the UK, however, the Race Relations Acts of the 1960s, which criminalised racial discrimination, and the 1985 Swann report, arguing for a multicultural education, are framed as central to its development. Multiculturalism reached a high point in the UK during the premiership of Tony Blair (Ashcroft and Bevir, 2018), culminating in the 2000 publication of the Parekh report, the report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain (Modood and Meer, 2012).

The negative reaction to the report in media and public discourse gave some indication of the backlash against multiculturalism that was to follow (Ashcroft and Bevir, 2018) - a backlash that sharpened in response to events such as 9/11 and the London 7/7 bombings (Triandafyllidou et al., 2006). This retreat from multiculturalism was also fuelled by claims that multicultural policies have reinforced difference, leading to social problems such as segregation and the disturbances in several northern former mill towns, such as Oldham, during 2001 (Amin, 2002; Watson and Saha, 2013; Neal et al., 2013). It was in the context of this growing anxiety that political leaders began to publicly declare multiculturalism a failure, with former Prime

Minister, David Cameron claiming that as a political ideology multiculturalism had encouraged different cultures to self-segregate (Modood and Meer, 2012; Wright and Taylor, 2011) and effectively live 'parallel lives' (Phillips, 2006b).

Whilst it is acknowledged that political leaders have, to some extent, retreated from multiculturalism, in diverse or diversifying areas of the country multiculture, as a lived experience, remains a part of everyday life (Wise, 2014). It is this distinction between 'State Multiculturalism' as a political ideology (Malik, 2010), and multiculture as a lived experience that demarcates the debates around the failure of multiculturalism. In the current study, state multiculturalism is framed as a top-down process, through which governments have sought to manage difference (Pemberton, 2017a). The problem with this understanding of multiculturalism is that it does not necessarily reflect everyday experiences of diversity (Hardy, 2010). Malik (2010) argues that state multiculturalism seeks to manage diversity, by fitting people neatly into ethnic boxes and then using these boxes to determine the needs and rights of those placed within. The drawback to this approach to managing difference is that it explores difference only through an ethnic lens (Fox and Jones, 2013), failing to capture the complexity of identity (Gidley, 2013) and taking no account of how people in diverse contexts experience and negotiate difference (Fox and Jones, 2013; Hardy, 2017). In contrast to this, the current study argues that multiculture, as a lived experience, remains an important and useful concept for engaging with the practices and competencies that people living in diverse, or diversifying, environments employ in their everyday lives (Hardy, 2017; Wise, 2014).

2.2.2 Everyday multiculture

Whilst there is continued debate around multiculturalism and its espoused failure, there has been a growing academic interest in the lived experience of multiculturalism. Within this field, the concept of everyday multiculturalism has emerged as a lens through which diversity and the way it is negotiated in everyday situations can be approached (Wise, 2014). In contrast to state

multiculturalism, everyday multiculturalism is framed as built from the bottom up, underpinned and held in place by the responses and practices of individuals and communities (Noble, 2013; Radford, 2016; Watson, 2017). Within this body of literature, a range of related concepts has emerged such as ‘everyday multiculturalism’ (Harris, 2009; Wise, 2014), ‘everyday otherness’ (Radford, 2016), ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’ (Radice, 2015) and ‘common-place diversity’ (Wessendorf, 2013). The strength of these concepts is that, rather than present individuals and communities as passive, they centre on their agency, exploring the way that they experience, articulate and negotiate difference in their daily lives (Fox and Jones, 2013; Harris, 2009).

Approaching multiculturalism in this way brings the role of encounter - a theme I return to later in this chapter – into focus. Encounter in this context is used to refer to contact across difference (Wilson, 2016), with contact viewed as a site for negotiating difference (Wise, 2007). Wise draws on the concept of the ‘Contact Zone’ as a way of approaching encounter. Originally coined by Pratt (1992: 7) the contact zone is presented as a place or situation where “peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other”. According to Wise (2007), contact zones facilitate the practice and utilisation of strategies which allow people to negotiate and live with difference. In the current study, the concept of the contact zone, as a site in which difference is experienced and negotiated, is pertinent. The process of diversification unfolding in Liverpool is characterised by a spreading out (Pemberton, 2017b) or ‘dispersal of diversity’ (Neal et al., 2013) into areas with limited experience of diversity. The shifting geography of settlement (Robinson, 2010) in Liverpool is framed here as playing into the emergence of new contact zones, opening experiences with difference that not only facilitate the practice of learning to live with difference but also potentially disrupt established residents notions of place.

This study contributes to the growing academic interest in everyday multiculturalism, drawing on this concept as a way of exploring experiences of refugee settlement. In doing so, the study seeks to contribute to an understanding of the complex, negotiated and lived experience of refugee

settlement. While, as indicated above, many interrelated concepts come under this banner, I opt to use the terms multiculture or everyday multiculture, rather than multiculturalism, in this thesis. I argue that, whilst ideologies can shape everyday life, the term multiculture reflects better the experiences of my participants for whom negotiating difference was a matter of getting on with everyday life rather than, or perhaps despite, ideology.

2.2.3 Encounter and familiarity

As stated above, employing the concept of multiculture as a way of thinking through the experience of refugee settlement within Liverpool brings the role of encounter, defined here as contact across difference (Wilson, 2016), into focus. Within the growing body of literature exploring everyday experiences of diversity, there is an increasing interest in encounter, both as a routine aspect of daily life (Ho, 2011; Nowicka and Vertovec, 2014) and its potential for helping individuals learn to live with difference (Hemming 2011).

This focus on encounter has led to a renewed, albeit contested, interest in Contact Theory as a way of understanding the impact of encounter as a starting point for positive relations. In the literature on contact theory, it is suggested that contact can have a positive effect on relations between groups, reducing anxiety and feelings of threat (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1997; 2007). According to Allport (1954), contact is effective because of the knowledge gained about the 'other'. However, Pettigrew (2007: 413) argues that this provides only a partial explanation suggesting that contact is also effective because it shapes the development of "affective mediators" such as empathy. However, approaching the reduction of prejudice and the building of relationships across difference as a "simple consequence of proximity to difference" (Back, 2019: 193) is flawed, obscuring the role of encounter in producing difference and otherness (Ahmed, 2000; Wilson and Darling). For Ahmed (2000), it is through encounter that the recognition of the 'other' is brought into being; thus, encounter shapes the boundaries of the familiar, playing into notions of belonging and otherness.

The role of encounter in building familiarity has received some attention in the literature. In her research into urban multiculturalism in the city street, Hall (2012) argues that in diversifying 'local' environments, a sense of familiarity becomes important for making sense of and dealing with change. According to Hall (2012: 129), the local is in effect a "network of familiarity" which emerges through encounter in the local setting. In this sense familiarity is associative; it involves connecting "people with places and with senses". Hall suggests that when a local area is experiencing change, then this sense of familiarity becomes more important for people living in the area. Change at a local level can impact on an individual's sense of place, requiring people to reconfigure their understanding of what is familiar. In this regard, familiarity is not just backward looking or nostalgic; rather, it is an active and ongoing process through which our sense of what is familiar can shift as we become acquainted with others through everyday encounters and interactions.

Peterson (2017) and Blokland and Nast (2014) extend this line of thought, arguing that a sense of familiarity is important, both for established residents and newcomers. It is through an accumulated sense of familiarity that people can come to feel comfortable, developing a sense of security in the local setting. Further, Peterson draws on the literature on 'micro-publics' (Amin, 2002) as a way of thinking through which spaces best facilitate the encounters which shape this sense of familiarity. Here, Peterson focuses on encounters in semi-public spaces, such as a library or community centre. In this sense, while spaces are often viewed as either public or private, there are spaces which fall somewhere between the two (Amin, 2002). According to Peterson (2017: 1071) "semi-public or parochial spaces are open to the public…but have a certain private character to them". For example, semi-public spaces often impose stricter controls over (in)appropriate behaviour than a more 'public' space (Ibid). Semi-public spaces best facilitate positive encounters because within these spaces the needs of different people overlap, interaction and engagement can, subsequently, arise from a shared or common goal (Amin, 2002; Peterson, 2017; Wessendorf, 2013). Amin (2002) argues that engagement through a common activity, or in pursuit of a

shared goal can disrupt potentially negative notions of the other. This opens up the possibility of breaking “out of fixed relations and fixed notions” enabling the development of new patterns of attachment and interaction (Amin, 2002: 970).

In the context of the current thesis, there is a need to gain more understanding and insight into the spaces which facilitate encounter and familiarity. As a result of austerity measures, reports suggest that Liverpool City Council’s funding from central government has decreased by 63% between the years 2010 and 2020 (Liverpool Express, 2019) - a financial situation potentially exacerbated by the impact of the Coronavirus pandemic (See, for example, McKeon, 2020). Whilst the council has explored initiatives such as partnering with community organisations to protect local spaces like libraries, there is a potential threat not only to the maintenance of existing spaces but to the opening up of such spaces in newer geographies of settlement. However, if these spaces best facilitate positive encounters, then, they are, potentially, an important aspect of the negotiation and lived experience of multiculture.

While this study engages with the role played by encounter, it is important to note that such an approach is not without criticism. Valentine (2008: 325) warns against “the romanticization of urban encounter” arguing that it is naïve to assume that civil encounters are indicative of respectful, positive relationships. Whilst routine encounters are seemingly convivial, Hall (2015) suggests that it is often social conventions, rather than ideology, that sets the tone. In this regard, encounter can be seen as part of a ‘front-stage’ behaviour (Goffman, 1990), effectively obscuring tensions, anxieties, and prejudice (Valentine, 2008) behind a seemingly convivial veneer (Hardy, 2017). In this sense, despite routine encounter, tensions and prejudices can remain unchallenged and continue to “leak out” in the confines, and security, of private space (Valentine, 2008: 329).

Contributing to this, the current study takes the lead from Wise (2007) in suggesting that learning to live with difference is not easy; it needs to be negotiated and practised. Encounter, then, is framed here as opening up the

possibility of learning to live with difference. A focus on multiculture, as the lived reality of diversity, is, as Wise and Noble (2016) maintain, not closed to the ambivalence, tension and conflict that plays out in everyday experiences of it, rather they are all part of the dynamics of multiculture.

2.2.4 Convivial capabilities

The co-existence of convivial encounter, tension, and conflict has been acknowledged in the literature (Valluvan, 2016; Wessendorf, 2014; Wise and Noble, 2016; Wise and Velayutham, 2014). Taking their lead from this, Back and Sinha (2016: 521) have sought to engage with the ways that the "paradoxical impulses" of conviviality and conflict co-exist, looking to the convivial capabilities that allow individuals to find ways of living with difference (Back and Sinha, 2016). This notion of convivial capabilities, whist influenced by Illich's (1973) concept of 'convivial tools', also rests on an understanding of conviviality not as 'happy togetherness' (Wise and Noble, 2016) but as 'living with' (Nowicka and Vertovec, 2014). Following Gilroy (2004), this understanding of conviviality, from the Spanish *convivencia,* includes "negotiation, friction and sometimes conflict" (Wise and Noble, 2016: 425). Convivial tools are, therefore, understood as the practices and capabilities, which underpin what Noble (2009) frames as the 'labour' of lived togetherness.

In their writing, Back and Sinha (2016) draw on research with young migrants in London, identifying a set of capabilities that allow them to negotiate everyday life and to build a life in the midst of tension and division. Whilst this approach gains an insight into the curiosity and openness of young migrants as central to this negotiation, there remains a need to engage with the convivial capabilities of various stakeholders as part of the process of living with difference. The current study contributes to this gap in knowledge, adopting a multi-stakeholder design to explore this topic from multiple perspectives.

Within the existing literature, there has been a focus on convivial gestures and civil exchange as part of the negotiation of lived togetherness (see, for example, Amin, 2006; Thrift, 2005) In their writing on encounter in the

café, Laurier and Philo (2006) highlight the importance of routine gestures, such as a smile or holding a door open, as a sign of openness to the other. These routine gestures can be instrumental in accumulating a sense of familiarity and 'comfort' with difference (Blokland and Nast, 2014). It must be noted, however, that the sense of comfort outlined by Blokland and Nast (2014) does not necessarily equate to respect for difference. Rather, it is a sense of comfort that facilitates ways of co-existing. In the current study, routine gestures and minor acts of civility are framed as part of the practice of living with and negotiating difference. In the existing literature, less is understood about the absence or discontinuity of such gestures given the significant power imbalances at play in everyday encounter, a gap in knowledge which this thesis addresses in chapter 7.

For Wilson and Darling (2016), one capability for negotiating everyday life in the city is the ability to manage encounter well. Thinking through what it means to manage encounter well, I draw on Wessendorf's (2014) observation that negotiating difference and managing potential conflict rests on finding a balance between being open and closed. Here then, the civil encounters which mediate Blokland and Nast's (2014) 'comfort zones' represent one, albeit pragmatic, strategy for managing encounter well. Signs of openness and neighbourliness, which might mask a resignation to lived togetherness, can be seen as a way of negotiating difference and avoiding conflict.

Shifting the focus away from the tools employed to negotiate living with difference, the existing literature also points to the competencies of individuals to "smooth and foster relations across difference" (Wise, 2007: 3). In their respective research, Wise (2007) and Radford (2016) both identified individuals who engaged in practices that smoothed connections across difference. Wise (2007), whose research centres on questions of why, in some places, different people are better able to 'rub together', identified individuals that engaged in practices which help "create connections between culturally different residents" (2007: 4). Wise argues that these 'Everyday Transversal Enablers' employ forms of everyday 'transversal practices'; practices which cut across difference, opening up situations of interaction and exchange.

Through the production and sharing of knowledge, Wise (2007) suggests that individual actors can foster connections between themselves, others and the local area. This can take the shape of sharing basic local knowledge that enables a newcomer to negotiate the local area, for example, information regarding the location of shops, schools and other services or even information about local routines, such as waste collections. Building upon this, Wise (2007) also notes that this sharing of knowledge is not all aimed towards helping newcomers to settle, rather, established residents can use 'gossip' to produce knowledge networks within the local community. Through this gossip, established residents can help facilitate local awareness of newcomers, shape a sense of familiarity, challenge and disrupt negative stereotypes, and, potentially, produce an information network that opens up further connections for newcomers (ibid).

2.2.5 Multiculture: disruption and fracture

As stated earlier in this chapter, the everyday multiculture approach employed within this thesis is not closed off from the existence of conflict and tension alongside, and within, multiculture. To this end, following the lead of Hardy (2017), I argue that to strengthen our understanding of multiculture and how refugee settlement, as a lived experience, plays out at a local level, the lens of multiculture must be open to signs of hostility, seeking to shed light on the "very real fears, tensions and conflicts that simmer underneath the veneer of harmonious co-existence" (Hardy, 2017: 21). Watson (2017) agrees with this, arguing that if we are to take the concept of multiculture seriously as a way of approaching the lived experiences of diversity, it is important that studies explore not only the practices and strategies which hold it in place but also the tensions and vulnerabilities, or points of fracture, that can, potentially, disrupt it.

With regards to potential vulnerabilities, in her writing Watson (2017) has pointed to three specific areas of vulnerability to be alert to. Firstly, while it is important to be mindful of the potential for hidden tensions or racism as argued by Hardy (2017), even in localities where racist views appear not to

exist there is a need to be alert to the reinforcement of homogenous versions of ‘culture’ (Watson, 2017). Whilst Watson highlighted an absence of racial narratives in the areas where her data was gathered, she found that residents, specifically those in the majority group, frequently made associations between a person’s ethnicity or cultural background and a reified, often, stereotypical version of that persons’ culture. The problem this poses to everyday multiculturalism is that dominant groups can mobilise these versions of a culture in order to maintain the balance of power, effectively fixing people into the category of ‘other’ (Phillips, 2006b).

Further, the notion of power is important to an understanding of multiculture, because regardless of how convivial a local setting appears, “people do not rub along as equals” (Watson, 2017: 2647). Focussing on the notion of discursive justice, Watson (2017) points to the entitlement that majority groups feel they have to discuss or judge others within their local area. Furthermore, this notion of discursive justice is useful for gaining insight into the capacity of various stakeholders to have a voice into local services. For Watson (2017), to maintain and hold multiculture in place, there is a need to redress this balance and increase the capacity of various stakeholders to have a voice.

Finally, Watson (2017) explored the contribution of local regeneration towards the fracture of everyday multiculture. Focussing on the gentrification of the local area, Watson suggests that regeneration of an area can disrupt the practices and structures that have emerged to support everyday multiculture (Ibid). For example, regeneration plans often include bringing new businesses to an area, which can be a threat to existing spaces of encounter, such as local cafes. Resonating with this, Hall (2015) suggests that regeneration can present a ‘point of crisis’ for multiculture: an event or situation that can disrupt the practices of multiculture, bringing hidden tensions and power imbalances to the surface (Hall, 2015; Valluvan, 2016). For Hall (2015), regeneration of the local setting can be disruptive and can shape a sense of loss, particularly when communities or stakeholders feel that they have no voice in the process of regeneration (see also, Vathi and Burrell, 2020). In the context of the current study, as the chapter which

follows will show, regeneration is a topic of interest in Liverpool, albeit of varying degrees across its boroughs. This is particularly the case following the success of European Capital of Culture. Whilst, ECOC is acknowledged to have shaped the regeneration of Liverpool city centre, there remains a sense of frustration that the benefits of this regeneration have not reached the areas around it.

2.2.6 Multiculture and welcome

The approach outlined, thus far, has focussed on everyday multiculture, its practices and points of fracture. In the introduction to this thesis, I note that there is a need to engage more with how experiences of refugee settlement play out in light of narratives of place, and in turn, how these narratives are recast or retold in light of the contemporary experience of settlement. In the current research, the dominant narrative of Liverpool - a narrative that was a recurring theme throughout my fieldwork - was one of welcome. With that in mind, the section that follows will explore the concept of welcome and a growing interest in it with regards to the experience of refugees and people seeking asylum.

In light of an increasingly hostile environment for refugees and other migrants in the UK, there is an emerging academic interest in the concept of welcome, prompted, largely, by Gill's (2018) timely essay on the potential suppression of welcome. Whilst it is this emerging body of literature that has shaped the approach to welcome employed in this study, welcome finds its roots in an established scholarly discussion on the concept of hospitality.

Approaching hospitality, Derrida (2000: 3) looks to the Kantian tradition framing hospitality as an obligation, as a "cosmopolitan right". In this tradition, hospitality carries no sentimentality, rather to be hospitable is a universal ethic (Dikec et al., 2009). At the heart of this ethic of hospitality is the right of the guest to be welcomed as a friend, which points to the unconditionality of hospitality. At the same time, Kant's ethic of hospitality emphasises the right of the host, who retains the authority to set the conditions and limits of welcome (Derrida, 2000). This tension between the

unconditional right of the guest alongside the authority of the host to place conditions on that hospitality is a contradiction, a paradox within the ethic of hospitality (Derrida, 2000). Addressing this paradox and upholding an ethic of hospitality rests on a "negotiation between competing demands" (Darling, 2014: 163) to find the "least bad" response (Derrida, 2005: 6). For Darling (2014), this ethic of hospitality has played into a politics of hospitality, through which states can position themselves as the 'gracious host', lauding the refuge they offer to the 'good' or 'worthy' migrant.

Here, then, we can see how the politics of hospitality at a national level plays into a distinction between migrants who are either more or less worthy of being welcomed (Crawley and Skleparis, 2014). In relation to this, Derrida (2001) has turned to the city as a site through which to rethink how we respond to migrants. In the context of the current study, my conversations with policymakers point to a desire to approach 'welcome' differently, playing into a commitment to the City of Sanctuary movement and the development of the city's first refugee strategy[7]. Therefore, the current study offers the potential to gain insight into the process of rethinking welcome as it plays out at a city level in Liverpool.

While the literature discussed above has shifted its focus to the local as a way of rethinking hospitality, this literature offers little for understanding the mundane features of welcome and how it plays out at a local level. Exploring how (un)welcome unfolds at a local level in a city like Liverpool is important for understanding how an increasingly hostile discourse around the issue of welcoming refugees and people seeking asylum filters down, potentially, shaping the 'affective atmosphere' of the everyday (Payson, 2015: 3).

In light of this, I draw on the emerging literature on welcome, approaching welcome as an emotional, interpersonal and relational dynamic (see, for example, Darling, 2018; Gill, 2018). Here, welcome is presented as something which is sensed, the feeling of being welcomed (Lynch, 2017), emerging from the experience, or perception of, a warm response to

[7] The strategy 'Our Liverpool' was launched in June 2019.

presence (Gill, 2018). To welcome, then, rests on practices which convey this warmth (Gill, 2018). This approach to welcome foregrounds its human dimensions. Everyday moments of kindness (Gill, 2018) and “minor gestures of sociality” (Darling, 2018: 222) are presented as underpinning an accumulated sense of welcome. In this regard, positive encounter is framed as a mediator of welcome (Gill, 2018; Darling, 2018), despite the fleeting nature of some of these encounters (Wilson and Darling, 2016).

Contributing to this, I argue that a focus on the human dimensions of welcome is pertinent for understanding the mundane features of welcome and how it plays out at a local level. However, there is a need to problematise a conceptualisation of welcome that pits a ‘warm response’ against the hollow or feigned (Vuolteenaho and Lyytinen, 2018), potentially obscuring the tensions and wavering emotions and resignation that welcome can trigger.

Part Two: Related and underlying theories and concepts

The first part of this chapter has outlined the primary theoretical approach in this research. In the discussion which follows, I will outline and define related concepts and theories, some of which have been touched upon in the preceding discussion yet warrant more detailed discussion here.

2.3 Constructing place

As has been stated, this research draws on the concept of multiculture as a way to approach experiences of and responses to refugee settlement. Consequently, the research focusses on investigating experiences of refugee settlement rooted within a local context. Amin (2002) argues that while there will be common themes and practices across different settings, places develop different ways of doing diversity (see also, Oke et al., 2016; Robinson, 2010). Given that this thesis adopts a place-based approach to refugee settlement, the sections which follow will outline the approach to place which underpins this research.

Approaching the concept of place, Cresswell (2004), contends that it is a ‘slippery’ term; place is a familiar, common-sense word, yet it is difficult to pin down and define. At its most simple, place is often approached as a territorial setting, as a fixed point on a map (Massey, 1995). However, whilst this is a useful application of place for setting out the geographical boundaries of this study, it rests on an essentialist view that places are static and unchanging (Brun, 2001; Massey, 1995). Massey argues that an essentialist view of place and its character is problematic, potentially playing into conflict over sharing a place and a resistance to change. When place is conceptualised as fixed and unchanging in this way, then any influences from outside our understanding of that bounded place can, potentially, be perceived as a threat (Massey, 1995).

Furthermore, viewing space as fixed can play into an understanding of identity as fixed and bounded to a specific territory (Brun, 2001). Approaching place in this way, then, has implications for the study of migration and refugee settlement. If identity is fixed to a place, then everyone has a place and can, therefore, be viewed as ‘in’ or ‘out of place’ (Brun, 2001).

Moving beyond a conceptualisation of place as a fixed territory, this study follows Massey (2005) in approaching place as relational. Here, place is framed as a product of relations, connections and interactions across both space and time (Darling 2010; Massey, 2005; 2006). Approaching place as the product of relations, connections and disconnections, challenges a view of place as fixed and static, and instead presents place as hybrid and under constant construction (Massey, 2005). This approach enables an appreciation of place in light of its histories and narratives, alongside acknowledging its (re)construction as a result of present-day and future relations, both within the local setting and beyond (Brettel, 2000: Massey, 2004).

Adopting a relational conceptualisation of place presents a challenge for this research, specifically with regards to aligning this appreciation of place with an analytical framework that would allow the dimensions of place

and its impact on refugee settlement to be unpacked. One framework of use to the current study was put forward by Robinson (2010), who approaches geographical variations in experiences of migrants in relation to the compositional, contextual and collective dimensions of the place.

Engaging with the compositional dimension of place focuses on those who live there, including both the established residents and the newly arrived (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2015). Here the emphasis is placed on the profile of the population, its size, the composition of different groups, their socio-economic circumstances, resources, and their established rights (Pemberton, 2017a; Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2015).

Approaching the contextual dimensions of the local setting brings the local environment, its physical and material conditions into focus (Robinson, 2010). A focus on the contextual dimensions this way approached explores the impact of geographies of deprivation, local resources and opportunity structures (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2015). Exploring the contextual dimensions of place not only allows for an appreciation of how refugee settlement plays out in light of deprivation (see, for example, Hynes, 2009) but also engages with the impact of the physical environment and specific features of urban design (see, for example, Burrell, 2016; Bynner, 2019). In this study, the contextual features of an area such as Woolton, an affluent, and leafy suburban area comprising many large detached houses, presents a sharp contrast to one of the more deprived areas in this study, Anfield, which is a densely populated, urban area comprising mainly of smaller terraced houses**.**

Finally, the collective dimensions of place rest on the histories, narratives, cultures and identities of place (Robinson, 2010), bringing to light "place-based notions of belonging and experiences of accommodating diversity" (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2015: 478). This focus on the collective dimensions of the local setting resonates with the writing of Brettel (2000) and Hickman and Mai (2015), who explore the role of histories and narratives of place in relation to attitudes towards new immigration. According to Brettel (2000), cities with a 'deep history' of in-ward migration

tend to adopt a positive approach to migration. These cities are, subsequently, more welcoming and accepting of newcomers (Brettel, 2000). This view is echoed by Hickman and Mai (2015), who state that the narratives of a place impact on how long-term residents approach new immigration. Hickman and Mai (2015), assert that where narratives of place frame the local setting as made up of people 'like them', then there is more likely to be a negative response to new migration. This was found to play into an expectation that to become integrated, the onus was placed on new migrants to change, to become more like 'locals'.

Leading on from approaching place in relation to its compositional, contextual and collective features, approaching place as relational also aligns this study with an understanding of the symbolic nature of place. The sections that follow expand on the conceptualisation of place outlined above, exploring the symbolic nature of place through themes such as mobility and motility, place-attachment and place-identity.

The concept of relational place is aligned with the understanding that mobility plays a significant role in the construction of place. Mobility, in relation to the construction of place, is framed as "the movement of mobile things – bodies, materials, ideas – that interconnect to create the space of everyday life" (Gorman-Murray & Nash, 2014: 625). Gorman-Murray and Nash (2014), approach mobility in relation to the connected concepts of motility and mooring. Here, motility is defined as the potential for mobility, our capacity for mobility (Gorman-Murray & Nash, 2014; Kaufman, 2014). Whereas mooring relates to the storage of this motility, through 'anchoring' or attachment to a place (Gorman-Murray & Nash, 2014). An appreciation of mobility, individuals capacity for mobility, their mobility options and desires offers a way into thinking about the symbolic nature of place, the meanings attached to place, and our sense of place-attachment and belonging (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015).

The concept of place attachment, whilst debated, is framed as emotive (Rishbeth and Powell, 2013), as a "bond between people and places" (Anton and Lawrence, 2016: 145). According to Anton and Lawrence

(2016), place-attachment comprises an emotional dimension, a sense of place-identity, and a functional dimension, a sense of place-dependence. Here, place-identity is framed as emerging through memories and associations between people and place (ibid), resonating with Hall's (2012) writing on familiarity. Similarly, writing on the development of place-attachment in first generation migrants, Rishbeth and Powell (2013) point to the role of the physical environment in the process of place-attachment. Here, the local landscape can resonate with memories and experiences, shaping a sense of familiarity and belonging.

Place-dependence, the more functional dimension of attachment, rests on the fulfilment of needs (Anton and Lawrence, 2016). Whilst it is suggested that an attachment to place initially rests on a sense of dependence, over time, this bond evolves and a more symbolic, place identity forms (Anton and Lawrence, 2016). Place-attachment, as it is framed here, allows for an understanding of the bond between people and place. In their writing on place-attachment, Anton and Lawrence (2016) suggest that a sense of place-attachment can play into experiences and responses to change in the local setting. These findings resonate with the writings of Hall (2012) and Back and Sinha (2016), who point to a changing local setting as potentially disrupting notions of place, playing into a sense of loss. This has implications for the focus of the current study with regards to thinking through how residents experience and respond to change

The concept of place-attachment, outlined above as the emotional and symbolic bond between people and place, is also understood as playing into a sense of belonging. Here belonging relates to the feelings of membership and of being 'in-place' (Pemberton, 2017a) shaped, as per Hall, (2012), by the associations between people and place. Given that belonging relates to membership and inclusion, it follows that it also denotes those who are deemed as out of place. Pemberton (2017a) argues that belonging connects the symbolic and emotional aspects of place to a political dimension. Belonging in this sense can become discursive, shaping the boundary between 'them' and 'us' in terms of who belongs (Weedon, 2009).

The emergence of discursive boundaries, in this regard, resonates with writing on everyday borders and bordering. According to Yuval-Davis et al. (2018), everyday bordering refers to the practices which shape distinctions between those who are in/out of place. Whilst Yuval-Davis et al., focus on everyday bordering as a "technology of control" (2018: 229) embedded into everyday social institutions, this remains a useful concept for the current study suggesting a need to look beyond bordering with regards to the nation state (Rumford, 2006) and instead look to the (re)construction of borders and boundaries which are practiced and negotiated in the everyday (Grimson, 2008; Karaman & Islam, 2012; Scott & Sohn, 2018). Contributing to this interest in borders and bordering, the current study sheds light on the experience of refugees, who, having crossed many physical and political borders, encounter symbolic borders (see also Wimmer, 2014) that define the edges of who or what is seen as a 'local'.

2.3.1 (Dis)trusting neighbourhoods

The neighbourhood, in this study, is understood as an intimate social place; a place where everyday relations are acted out (Robinson and Phillips, 2015). At the neighbourhood level, this research is interested in exploring experiences of refugee settlement and the attitudes and practices arising as a response. Within the existing literature, there has been a focus on the impact of diversification (Stolle, 2008) and refugee settlement at the neighbourhood level, with some indication that these experiences can have an impact on social trust (Hynes, 2009), exacerbating the marginalisation and suspicion of newcomers (Phillips, 2006a).

Pertinent for the focus of the current study, the literature suggests that this decreased sense of trust is more likely in deprived neighbourhoods. Kung (2018), suggests that in these neighbourhoods, a scarcity mentality may play a part, with newcomers positioned as a potential threat to existing, potentially scarce, local resources. Kung's writing resonates with existing psychological theories of intergroup relations, particularly the idea that tension and conflict between groups can emerge around a sense of 'resource threat'. In the

context of the UK, the idea of a perceived resource threat has, potentially, been exacerbated by the rhetoric employed by UKIP in the lead up to the 2015 General Election. In the lead up to this election, UKIP began to move away from a single-issue focus on membership of the European Union towards a broader range of policies that sought to take ownership of issues such as the economy and the NHS, presenting these issues in relation to the threat posed by immigration (Dennison and Goodwin, 2015). In this regard, we can see the emergence of a social positioning in which providing for the needs of citizens is, potentially, at risk because of the economic implications of immigration.

With regards to literature that explores trust in relation to the settlement of refugees within a neighbourhood, there has been some interest in exploring the impact of specific policies, including dispersal and housing policies, in relation to a reduced sense of trust (Hynes, 2009). In the UK, a formal policy of dispersal was first introduced in the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act (Hynes, 2009: Phillips, 2006a). Under the provisions of this act, asylum seekers were given a ‘one-off ‘offer of accommodation, with no regard being given to preferences of location (Clements, 2001). Initially, dispersal was carried out in partnership with local authorities, who made use of local agencies and support groups to manage this process (Darling, 2016). However, in 2010, the local input into the dispersal process was effectively removed, when the government sought to outsource dispersal management and accommodation to private companies (Darling 2010). Phillips (2006a) argues that, in pursuit of profit, these companies have sought to disperse asylum seekers into lower-cost housing markets. Consequently, dispersal accommodation is in communities with a high volume of cheap housing stock (Ibid), potentially, leading to a higher concentration of people seeking asylum in some of the most deprived wards in the country (Darling, 2017; Phillips, 2006a). This assertion is certainly backed by the limited data available on people seeking asylum in Liverpool: deprived wards, such as Anfield and Kensington, have a higher concentration of asylum seekers in comparison to the more affluent areas in the city (McPherson, 2014).

According to Hynes (2009), dispersal into deprived areas can have a negative impact on trust and on long term settlement outcomes for refugees. In these neighbourhoods, Hynes (2009) asserts that refugees are simultaneously mistrusting and mistrusted. Her writing offers insight into migrants mistrust towards the institutions that manage the asylum process, whilst at the same time highlighting their experience of being mistrusted by those same institutions (Ibid). Resonating with this, Phillips (2006a), suggests that established residents in deprived areas already feel marginalised, in these areas the arrival of refugees can lead to suspicion, impacting upon trust and the potential for developing positive relationships (Phillips, 2006a).

As a sociological concept, trust, as the general trust between people, is a crucial aspect of a functioning society (Mollerin, 2001). Trust, in this sense, forms the basis of social interactions between people and their relationship with institutions (Stzompka, 2000). Whilst the concept of trust and how it is produced is contested, this study approaches trust as a result of social relations, shaped by experiences and subject to modification in response to change (Delhey & Newton, 2003). Trust is viewed as a way of functioning in a society where we need to co-exist and interact with others (Stzompka, 2000). Based on social interactions, we make judgements regarding how others will behave. The unpredictability of behaviour and situations can play into a sense of uncertainty, and, for Stzompka (2000), trust is central to how we negotiate this uncertainty.

This study follows the lead of Hynes (2009) in framing trust as comprising several forms; social trust, institutional trust and political trust. Here, social trust is understood as relating to interactions between people and is portrayed as the confidence that an individual has in another person (Hynes, 2009). Building on other literature in this field, Stzompka (2000) suggests that social trust is the most fundamental form of trust. Trust at the social level starts as interpersonal trust, centred on family and friends, and radiates outwards. Stzompka (2000) argues that decisions to (dis)trust at a social level can be targeted at certain social categories, differing for example, between genders, or based on race or economic status. This is pertinent for

the focus of the current study, raising the implication that existing stereotypes have the potential to shape (dis)trusting relationships. Institutional trust is outlined as the extent to which a person has trust in institutions, including, for example, the police, the institutions managing the processes of asylum, and the trust held in the government. Political trust relates to the trust and confidence that people hold in the democratic process, including local democratic institutions. Within this model, trust is not viewed as static; rather, it is dynamic and shifts along a continuum from trust to distrust (Hynes, 2009). Approaching trust as fluid raises the implication that it can be disrupted and restored. In the context of the current study, there is a need to understand how (dis)trust plays out in light of experiences of refugee settlement and how it can be established or disrupted as a consequence of encounter.

2.3.2 Social change and complexity thinking

Finally, given that this study explores the experience of refugee settlement in the context of a city undergoing rapid diversification, this research engages with ongoing debates around the role of migration as an aspect of social change. The study of social change is foundational to the discipline of sociology, developing around the time of industrialisation and the emergence of capitalism in the west (Noble, 1999). Despite broad theoretical differences, the underlying concern of these early sociological thinkers was with the causes and consequences of social change (Noble, 1999).

Within the existing literature around migration, there has been some interest in the role of migration in bringing about social change (Castles, 2010; Portes, 2010; Van Hear,2010). Whilst Portes (2010) suggests that migration is a form of change, the role of migration as a driver of that change is debated. On the one hand, migration is seen, not only as a form of change but as a significant part of the process of social change (Castles, 2010). Whilst on the other, migration is viewed as causing “street-level” changes – changes to visible sights and sounds – but with little potential to bring about significant or transformative change (Portes, 2010: 1548).

Responding to this debate, I follow the lead of Castles, (2010), in framing migration as part of the process of change. Social change is, therefore, framed as an ongoing process, a useful approach for understanding the relationship between agency and structure as part of change (Wessels, 2014) allowing us to make sense of the 'two-sidedness 'of the social world (Abrams, 1982: 2). In this regard, while society is experienced as something external, it is constantly undergoing the process of being re-made through the actions of individuals. (Abrams, 1982; Wessels, 2014). Viewing social change as a process suggests that change comes about because of actions and responses, driven by the interactions and relations between actors (Wessels, 2014).

In seeking to make sense of the processes that underpin this change, the current research has been influenced by complexity theory. Complexity theory offers an approach to understanding the ongoing process of change within a complex social system. A complex system is framed here as comprised of sub-units which, although separate and autonomous, are interrelated, interdependent and overlapping (Rosenau, 1999). A crucial feature of change within a complex system is that these sub-units are adaptive, they respond and adapt to changes within the system, driving change through feedback (Walby, 2009). The notion of 'sense-making' (Mischen and Jackson, 2008) is employed here as a way of thinking through how feedback works as a driver of change. According to Mischen and Jackson (2008), when a sub-unit shifts or changes, it affects the others because it changes the environment. To make sense of the new environment, the sub-units adapt, driving the system forward through positive feedback. As the landscape shifts and the units adapt, new qualities and patterns of behaviour can emerge (Mischen & Jackson, 2008, Radford, 2006).

Linking this discussion to the context of my research, complexity theory provides a useful lens for understanding the processes that affect change. In this sense, complexity theory can enable an understanding of how changes within one unit or domain of the system can affect change within other domains. For example, when there is a change in the policy

environment, how do residents, refugees or local decision makers make sense of this change, and what behaviours emerge as a response to the changing environment.

2.4 Conclusion

This research is interested in the experience of refugee settlement at a local level within Liverpool, exploring questions related to everyday practices, strategies and routines that emerge as people negotiate and experience difference. In this chapter, I have outlined the theoretical framework that has been adopted to support this study. The starting point for this framework is the understanding that multiculturalism has lived dimensions which continue to play out in diverse areas despite a retreat from multicultural policies. This approach presents a challenge to the negative discourse surrounding multiculturalism as a failure. In challenging this discourse, the approach employed here seeks to shift the focus from 'State' or policy-led multiculturalism towards the everyday experiences of living and doing multiculture. The first part of this chapter outlines a framework for understanding how multiculture can be built from below, rooted in everyday experiences and practices. Whilst the approach employed here explores the impact of encounters and interaction, the framework outlined enables an understanding that multiculture is negotiated and practiced. As such, this approach is open to the co-existence of multiculture and conflict.

In the context of this thesis, the current chapter has outlined a theoretical and conceptual approach to addressing the gaps and challenges highlighted in the preceding chapter. The everyday multiculture approach outlined in this chapter, for example, allows the current study to contribute to an understanding of the way various stakeholders experience and negotiate settlement. Furthermore, approaching tensions as part of the dynamics of multiculture helps this study contribute to gaps in knowledge regarding lived multiculture and the way that tension can shape and play into modes of coexistence. Having done so, the chapter which follows now turns to the local, approaching Liverpool to provide a contextual backdrop to this study.

Chapter 3: Liverpool – Migration and settlement in a rapidly changing city.

3.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter outlined the theoretical framework employed within this study, outlining the approach used in this to support a focus on refugee settlement as it is lived and negotiated in a local setting. As this study is a place-based approach to refugee settlement, the current chapter builds on the introduction to Liverpool in chapter 1 and provides an outline of the contextual backdrop to this study. Acknowledging that within the scope of this chapter, I cannot cover Liverpool's 'story' in full, I adopt a thematic approach to this contextual chapter. The themes trace the rise, fall and renewal of Liverpool, following Belchem's (2014) understanding that Liverpool's history of migration and settlement is best understood through the economic forces which have driven it.

Tracing this journey has resulted in a chapter which broadly follows a pattern across time. However, the intention is not to present a chronological timeline. Whilst the chapter is organised into sections which cover the themes of rise, fall and renewal, with a reflection on the city as it is today, within them, they cover the themes of migration, settlement and segregation, race and race relations and depopulation and decline, as a way of teasing out the contextual features of Liverpool that have implications for the focus of the current study.

3.2 The rise of Liverpool

The introduction to this thesis touches on the history of Liverpool and its rise to prominence in relation to approaching Liverpool as a city of migration and settlement. Leading on from this, this section does not intend to provide a detailed history of Liverpool's rise to prominence or the economic success of the port. This is a topic that has been extensively explored in the existing literature (see, for example, Haggerty, 2008; Lane 1987; Lawton and

Cunningham, 1970). Rather, the aim here is to draw selectively from this history to shed light on the success of the port as an economic driver of migration, and how this history of migration forms a backdrop against which city and local level narratives and experiences of refugee settlements take place.

Liverpool is a city in the north-west of England, with a population of 494,800[8] (as of 2018). Although the population of the city has increased in recent years, it remains far short of its population of 855,688 when Liverpool was at the peak of its prominence during the 1930s (Rodwell, 2008). The story of Liverpool's growth and rise to prominence, having received its city charter in 1207 (Belchem, 2006), is a story of migration and settlement interwoven with the success of its port. Investment in its commercial docks[9] and the geographical advantage of its positioning on the banks of the River Mersey, ideal for trade with the Americas, would elevate Liverpool to the second city of the British Empire (see Lane, 1987). It is estimated that by the late 19th century 40% of the world's trade was passing through the port (Lane, 1987). Alongside growing demand for products such as cotton and tobacco, Liverpool's growing prosperity was also driven by the transatlantic slave trade (Belchem, 2000) - a history still visible in the city today, as captured, for example, through street signs bearing the names of prominent slave traders.

As the port of Liverpool grew, in size and importance, so too did the city's population. In 1841 the population of the city was estimated to be 286,487. However, by 1906, driven by the success of the port and its rise in prominence, the population had expanded to 764,144 (Farrer and Brownbill, 1911). Alongside this growth, the geography of the city was also expanding. Towards the end of the 19th century, the boundaries of Liverpool began to expand to incorporate the existing townships on its outskirts, such as Walton, Wavertree and Toxteth (Farrer and Brownbill, 1911). As will be shown in chapter 5, this association between the success of the port and the growth of

[8] 2018 population figures provided by Liverpool City Council
[9] Thomas Steers Dock is claimed to be the world's first commercial wet dock

the city is at the heart of native residents, often romanticized, narratives of Liverpool as a city synonymous with welcome.

While these figures draw attention to the rapidly growing population they do not reveal the complexity of it. At any given time, the population of the city was a diverse and transient mix of locals, emigrants, merchants and seafarers (Lane, 1997). For many of those moving through the port of Liverpool, the city was not a final destination. Rather, for the transient population of seafarers, it was a temporary place to reside whilst ships were docked (Lane, 1987) and for emigrants, the city was often a stepping-stone as part of a longer journey towards new beginnings (Belchem, 1999).

Despite this transience, this period of growth would see migrants make a home and establish communities within the city. Much has been written of these different groups, including the Liverpool Irish (Belchem, 1999, 2000, 2005), the Liverpool Black community (Nassy-Brown, 1998, 2000; Costello, 2001; Frost, 2002; Small, 1991), the Chinese community (Lee, 1998). In the context of this thesis, a detailed account of settlement is not feasible. Rather, the sections which follow will explore the theme of settlement and segregation with a specific focus on the Irish and Black communities. This chapter focusses on these communities because the patterns of migration and settlement established by these communities are – as indicated by the narratives of established residents - relevant to the way that settlement is currently experienced.

3.2.1 Settlement and segregation in a growing city

It has been acknowledged that the growth of Liverpool gave rise to a transient and cosmopolitan population (Lawton and Cunningham, 1970). However, rather than a diverse ‘melting pot’, Liverpool’s population was an uneasy mix of people (Herson, 2008) with evidence of ethnic tension and problems with segregation (Lawton and Cunningham, 1970).

These experiences of segregation, and the establishment of patterns of settlement (Belchem, 1999) which are evident in the city today, are of relevance to the focus of the current study. According to Belchem (1999), as

Liverpool's population grew, patterns of spatial segregation emerged, dividing the city across socio-economic, racial and ethnoreligious lines. It must be noted that socio-economic segregation was, largely, driven by the workers need to be near to the docks to secure employment. At this time, employment in Liverpool was casual and reliant on the ships coming in and out of the docks (Lane, 1987). The working-class population of the city, which relied upon this casual labour, needed easy access to the docks to secure this work. Subsequently, working-class communities stretched along the length of Liverpool's waterfront (Frost and North, 2013). Even at the height of its wealth during the 1930s, the contrast between the living conditions and mortality rates in Liverpool's waterfront slums and the conditions in its more affluent suburbs presents a stark picture of Liverpool as a deeply unequal city (Channon, 1970; Frost and North, 2013).

Further to socio-economic segregation, within the working-class population segregation was marked out by a racial, and - as the Irish population grew - an ethnoreligious divide (Belchem, 1999; Frost and North, 2013). In a pattern still evident in the city today, Black seafarers began to settle to the south of the docks from at least the mid-19th century onwards (Parish, 2005), and the white community settled to the north (Belchem, 1999). This pattern of segregation is one aspect of a north-south divide that is still evident in the city today. With regards to experiences of diversity in the city, as will be shown in the narratives captured in chapter 6, the south of the city is more commonly associated with diversity and the settlement of ethnic minorities whilst the north end is framed as predominantly white. However, and pertinent to the focus of this study, the process of diversification that has been unfolding over the past 15 years is starting to disrupt these patterns. As observed by Pemberton (2017b), it is not only the rate of diversification in Liverpool that is driving an emerging super-diversity but the spread or dispersal of it into these traditional 'white areas'.

3.2.2 Sectarianism and the Liverpool Irish population

Of the people that would settle and make Liverpool home, it is the Irish that are acknowledged to be the strongest demographic element (Belchem, 1999; Lawton & Cunningham, 1970). While most accounts of the Liverpool Irish focus on those who arrived during the years of the Irish famine (approximately 1845-1849), Irish migration to Liverpool occurred before this period. In 1841 the Irish born population of Liverpool was already 49,663 (Belchem, 1999). However, driven by the famine, the Irish born population of the city had grown to 83,813 by 1851 (Belchem, 2007). In line with existing patterns of socio-economic segregation in the city, the Liverpool Irish settled into the poorest areas of the city adjacent to the docks. On settling in Liverpool, the Irish migrants who came during the famine years, labelled in the city as the 'poor Paddies', found they were excluded from the better paying, unionised jobs in the city, with opportunities restricted to casual employment (Belchem, 2007). A strong sense of ethnic affiliation - a maintenance of their 'Irishness' - would emerge as a way of coping with these disadvantages (Belchem, 1999) shaping what Belchem identifies as the Liverpool-Irish enclave.

It is important at this point to make a distinction between these Catholic settlers and the Irish-Protestant middle-class migrants, who settled in the city's suburbs and distanced themselves from this 'Irishness' (Belchem, 1999). Within this Irish enclave, a strong sense of community developed, fostering a sense of self-sufficiency (Belchem, 2000). One aspect of this centred around social welfare and support provided by the Catholic church in response to the poverty within the Irish (Catholic) community (Belchem, 1999). A further aspect of support and assistance for Catholic migrants came through the establishment of a ribbonite network in Liverpool (Belchem, 2000). Ribbonism was a Catholic sectarian movement, prominent in Ulster, set up to oppose the Orange Order. In Liverpool, ribbonite networks played a pivotal role in the reception and assistance of new migrants (Belchem, 1999), providing welfare support, as well as offering political sanctuary for Irish nationalists (Belchem, 2000). Given the infrastructure that emerged to support and assist new migrants from Ireland, settling in

Liverpool was increasingly viewed as a rational choice ahead of an uncertain journey elsewhere (Belchem, 1999).

It is through the establishment of ribbonite networks in Liverpool that a sectarian national identity was established within Liverpool's Irish community (Belchem, 1999), introducing an awareness of republican politics into a predominantly Conservative political landscape[10] (Belchem, 2000). It is this sectarian identity and nationalist awareness that, following the establishment of the Orange Lodge[11] in the city, would go on to fuel sectarian tensions and violence within Liverpool (Belchem, 2000). According to Roberts (2015), sectarian tensions started to surface around 1819 and were further fuelled with the increasing Irish migration into the city during the famine years.

There is a broad body of literature that explores sectarianism in Liverpool (see, for example, Neal, 1988; Jenkins, 2010; Roberts, 2017; Waller, 1981). This literature gives some insight into sectarianism in the city, including its apparent decline in recent years. Whilst it has been acknowledged that sectarianism began to decline following World War II, Roberts (2015) suggests that a significant sectarian divide remained until the slum clearances of the 1960s. These clearances, as touched on later in this chapter, broke up established communities in the north of the city, with community members dispersed across the city and out into the new towns. While sectarianism has declined, the Orange Lodge still marches on the 12th of July, and this is still a source of tension and disruption.

To some extent, I agree with Roberts view that sectarianism has declined, at least in intensity. However, as noted in chapter 4, my experience of being subjected to sectarian remarks while conducting my fieldwork suggest that sectarian identities and tensions remain, if somewhat hidden under the surface. Relating this to the contemporary experience of diversification, areas of north Liverpool whose, relatively recent, history has been shaped by sectarianism are starting to diversify, partially driven by the

[10] During the period from 1885 until 1929 there was an Irish Nationalist MP elected within a Liverpool constituency (Lane, 1987)
[11] The Orange Lodge began to emerge in the city in the early 1800s.

accommodation of dispersed asylum seekers, adding an additional dynamic to the experience of refugee settlement in the city.

3.2.3 The establishment and growth of Liverpool's Black community

Whilst the Liverpool Irish is one of the strongest demographic elements in the city, a further feature of migration into Liverpool that has received attention in the literature is the Liverpool Black community (see, for example, Nassy-Brown, 1998, 2000; Costello, 2001; Frost, 2002; Parish, 2005; Small, 1991). In the context of this research, which explores themes like diversity and multiculturalism, the history and development of Liverpool's Black community and its experiences of racial discrimination are of interest.

Liverpool has one of the longest established Black communities in the UK (Costello, 2001). Whilst, Costello (2001) writes about the establishment of a Black community during the mid-18th century, the roots of the Liverpool-born Black population is more commonly traced back to West African seafarers who settled in the city around 1860-1870 (Belchem, 2014; Frost, 2002; Nassy-Brown, 2005). Settling into the streets along the south side of the docks, this growing community would experience discrimination that would eventually shape their 'containment' into Toxteth[12] (Costello, 2001; Murden, 2006). One consequence of this isolation and exclusion was that the Black community remained, largely, invisible in areas outside of Toxteth (Costello, 2001). Over generations Liverpool's Black population has become increasingly complex and diverse; this population is now made up of a complex layering of newer migrants, existing 'settled' migrants and indigenous Liverpool born Blacks (Steele et al., 2011).

As stated, the Black community in Liverpool has a complex heritage, however, to gain some insight into the impact that Black settlement has had on Liverpool, I will firstly explore aspects of the settlement of West-African or Kru seafarers. Trade links between Liverpool and Africa were dominated by ships coming from Western Africa during the mid to late 19th century (Parish,

[12] A small area in the south of the city.

2005); it is on these ships that Kru seafarers made their way to the city (Frost, 2002). Whilst in Liverpool's dock, many of these seafarers would abscond from their duties, settling within Liverpool and registering to work on Liverpool's ships (Frost, 2002).

According to Frost (2002), the Kru population that settled in Liverpool was overwhelmingly male. The growth of this community is, largely, attributed to interracial relationships and marriages (Nassy-Brown, 1998; 2005; Frost, 2002), a subsequent source of tension within the city (Christian, 2008). Given the circumstances of their settlement and the growth of the community, these settlers were singled out as both an economic threat and as competition for local women. This positioning of Black males as a threat is acknowledged to have played into the outbreak of racial disturbances and riots in 1919 (Belchem, 2014; Christian, 2008). During these disturbances, Black people in Liverpool were subjected not only to physical violence but also property and accommodation was damaged, leading to an increasing homelessness problem within the community (Christian, 2008). The race riots of 1919 would go on to result in the death of a 24-year-old Bermudian sailor, Charles Wooton, who drowned after being thrown into Queens Dock (Belchem, 2014). While the life and death of Charles Wooton are now commemorated on a plaque near the place of his death[13], for a long time, especially since the closure of a Toxteth community centre bearing his name, this aspect of Liverpool's history and the 1919 race riots remained untold beyond the Black community. The official response to the disturbances was to place the blame with the Black community, which, subsequently, faced increasingly restrictive policies aiming to stem the growth of the community[14] (Christian, 2008; Frost, 2008).

As stated, the growing black population in Liverpool was, largely, attributed to interracial relationships (Frost, 2008). Alongside the experiences of the Black settlers, the experiences of local white women who entered

[13] The plaque was the idea of British historian David Olusoga as part of a drive to commemorate and to raise awareness of events, largely missing from the dominant narrative, which could shed light on Britain's history of race relations.
[14] At the time of the 1919 riots, the Black Community had an estimated population of around 5000 (Christian, 2008).

these relationships offer an interesting insight into Liverpool's history of race relations. Accounts of these experiences indicate that these women were stigmatised within the city and labelled as prostitutes (Frost, 2002). Due to the harassment they faced in predominantly white areas, these women were similarly excluded and contained within specific areas of south Liverpool.

This history of mixed relationships has given rise to a large bi-racial population, known in the literature as the 'Liverpool-born Blacks' (Frost, 2002, 2008). Alongside the racism and prejudice experienced by the Black Community, a further layer of stigmatisation emerged as the population of Liverpool-born Blacks grew (Frost, 2002). A stigma that was further reinforced through the publication of The Fletcher Report: a report commissioned by the University of Liverpool in the 1920s with the ill-conceived intention of investigating the 'problem' of mixed-race families in south Liverpool (Christian, 2008).

This positioning of Liverpool's Black community as a problem, emerged in the years after World War I, as merchant seamen returned from the armed forces and competition for jobs increased (Belchem, 2014). It is this discourse that plays into the assumptions in Fletcher's study. As a result, Christian (2008) argues that The Fletcher Report gave the stigmatisation of the Black population the backing of a, seemingly, objective and scientific study. The investigative approaches in the study drew from the tradition of eugenics, investigating the 'problem' through a focus on the specific mental and physical attributes of Liverpool born Black children. The findings pointed to the frail health of so-called 'half-caste' children as a result of the genes they had inherited from their fathers (Christian, 2008). The experiences of Black settlers and the growing Black community during this period of Liverpool's prominence have continued to shape experiences and negotiations of race within Liverpool. As such, as I go on to consider Liverpool's decline, I return to these themes of race and segregation to trace how these experiences continued to play out in a city experiencing economic depression, depopulation and negative stereotyping.

3.3.Falling from grace

3.3.1 Decline and depopulation

If the city's rise to prominence was rapid, so too was its decline. Having reached its peak in the 1930s with a population of approximately 850,000, the decades that followed leading to the turn of the 21st century saw Liverpool's population effectively halved (Bernt et al., 2014; Nevin, 2010). This period marks the city's "fall from grace" (Sykes et al., 2013: 9). There is little room within the scope of this thesis to explore the causes, economic or otherwise of this decline. Instead, the focus here is on the depopulation that occurred because of it.

As stated earlier in this chapter, one of the characteristics of employment in Liverpool was a reliance on the port for labour. Reliance on the port was not only evident for those directly employed on ships or in the docks, but also those employed in the manufacturing industries around the dockland (Couch, 2003). For Frost and North (2013), the decline of the port was a key driver in the depopulation of Liverpool. The loss of jobs through the port and subsequent factory closures meant that people had to go elsewhere for work, including to new towns and suburbs of the outskirts of the city.

This suburbanisation, noted here as a factor in the depopulation of Liverpool, was also exacerbated by Liverpool City Council's response to an ongoing housing crisis: a crisis caused by the impact of World War 2 and the poor condition of housing in the city (Couch et al., 2009: Frost and North, 2013). With regards to the impact of the Blitz, an estimated 6500 dwellings had been destroyed and a further 125,000 damaged (Frost and North, 2103). Further to this, by 1947 the council deemed 20,000 dwellings as unfit for purpose, this figure had risen to 88,000 by 1954 (Ibid). Plans to deal with the housing crisis and to redevelop and modernise housing across the city would involve a process of slum clearance (Couch, 2003). Given the living conditions and standards of properties within Liverpool's urban inner core, this policy was well-intentioned. These plans, set out in the mid-1960s, would see 40% of housing stock in these areas demolished and residents rehoused

(Sykes et al., 2013). However, plans to redevelop the slums incorporated the dispersal of residents to new towns and suburbs on the outskirts of the city, such as Kirkby and Huyton (Frost and North, 2013; Sykes et al., 2013). This pattern of dispersal saw the beginning of a process of suburbanisation as the population of the city shifted to the outskirts (Couch et al., 2009). As well as playing a part in the declining population in the city, this process further exacerbated Liverpool's' economic decline, with out of town retail and industrial estates providing competition for established businesses in the city and shifting employment opportunities from the centre to the outskirts (Frost and North, 2013).

Having explored the nature of depopulation and decline within Liverpool, I will now discuss the impact this had on the city (as pertinent to the focus of the study). The loss of population through suburbanisation, as outlined above, caused a specific problem for the inner-city areas, notably a high volume of vacant and abandoned housing stock. There is a strong body of literature that explores the consequences of housing vacancy (see, for example, Bernt et al., 2014; Couch and Cocks, 2013; Uduku, 1999). Within the context of Liverpool, vacant and abandoned housing had a negative effect on neighbourhoods across its inner core. Visually, when added to the damage caused during the Blitz, these vacant and run-down houses added to a sense of decay within the city (Balderstone et al., 2014). At a neighbourhood level, these areas became known hotspots for vandalism, crime and other social problems, such as gangs and drugs (Thompson, 2015). The perception of these neighbourhoods as no-go areas presented a barrier to regeneration, impacting on the capacity to attract people and capital and eventually driving rent and house prices down (Thompson, 2015). As the narratives presented in the later empirical chapters will show, urban rumours and perceptions of crime and no-go areas continue to play out in the city, including in the anticipation of unwelcome amongst new settlers.

For those outside of the city, Liverpool had become synonymous with crime and other social problems. During the 1970s and 1980s these perceptions of social problems, crime and dereliction permeated media portrayals of the city feeding into increasingly negative stereotypes. (Boland,

2008; Lees, 2011). Examples of this can be drawn from the news media, such as reporting after the Hillsborough disaster which blamed Liverpool fans, presenting the disaster as an example of hooliganism. A further example of how the media shaped perceptions and stereotypes can be drawn from the 1982 drama Boys from the Blackstuff. Although the show was a commentary on Thatcher's Conservative government, the subject matter of 5 unemployed scousers and the lead character's catchphrase 'Gizza Job' fed into the perceptions around unemployment in the city (Boland, 2008). These images of Liverpool as a city synonymous with social problems and violence, alongside reporting of incidents like the Toxteth Riots, Heysel and Hillsborough combined to fuel a negative stereotype of the people and place that has proven difficult to shake (Boland, 2008, 2010b Hughson and Spaaij, 2011).

For those from the city, Ball (1997) suggests that the negative stereotyping led to experiences of what he calls 'Scouseism': a form of discrimination targeted at people with a Liverpool accent. Consequently, the collective sense of identity in the city has been strengthened, underpinned by an 'us versus them' mentality (Lees, 2011). Whilst researching in the city, Nassy-Brown (2005) noted the strength of local identity in Liverpool; rather than having a strong national identity, she found an anti-English identity. This sense of identity is illustrated in banners at Liverpool Football Club matches, which declare "We're not English, we are Scouse" (Boland, 2010a; p5).

This collective identity, which positions Liverpool as set apart from the rest of the UK, is one aspect of Liverpool's sense of exceptionalism that has been documented by Belchem (2000). Here Liverpool's set-apartness plays into a tendency to frame situations, experiences and attitudes as 'typical' of Liverpool. However, while experiences of decline reinforced a collective identity that sets the city apart from the rest of the UK, within the city, and touched upon in chapter 7, this sense of identity is more fragmented, at times tribal. The scouse identity is, for example, divided across football loyalties, a north-south divide, or between those classed as 'real' scousers or 'wools'. This complex sense of identity, one which is collective yet fragmented,

potentially, has implications for newcomers attempting to negotiate and find or make a place within the city.

3.3.2 Race and segregation: A continuing theme

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed the patterns of spatial segregation that were established whilst the city was growing. These patterns had effectively rendered the Liverpool Black community invisible (Costello, 2001). As the city declined, these patterns were further exacerbated by a municipal housing policy which was focussed on modernising housing stock and clearing the city's slums (Lees, 2011). The process of slum clearance had a markedly different impact on the Black community in comparison to Liverpool's majority white community. Whilst white communities were disrupted with residents dispersed across the city and into outlying suburbs and new towns. The Black community, in what have since been identified as discriminatory housing policies (Liverpool Black Caucus, 1986), was shifted away from the Pitt street area nearer to the waterfront into the Granby area of Toxteth – an area more commonly known locally as L8. These housing policies played an important role in the segregation and isolation of Liverpool's Black community (Liverpool Black Caucus, 1986).

Other forms of segregation and discrimination further exacerbated the invisibility of the Black community in Liverpool. Alongside discriminatory housing policies, the Black community also experienced social segregation (Small, 1991). Part of this invisibility was the result of a colour bar, excluding Blacks from nightclubs and public houses away from the L8 area (Belchem, 2014; Small, 1991). Whilst exclusionary policies drove part of this social segregation, harassment outside the confines of the L8 area also played a part in reinforcing the containment and segregation of the Black community (Murray, 2007).

A further aspect of the exclusion of the Black population is evidenced in its experiences in the labour market (Small, 1991). Unemployment amongst Liverpool's Black population was high. Liverpool's job market relied heavily on the city council and other public sector opportunities (Frost and

North, 2013; Small, 1991). However, access to these jobs was largely achieved through informal recruitment, making use of existing social networks that drew on family and friends (Frost and North, 2013). The Black community were at a disadvantage in this system, given their experiences of exclusion and segregation. Consequently, their opportunities for gaining employment through these networks was limited (Frost and North, 2013).

At a time when other UK cities had begun to adopt a 'positive action' approach to tackling inequality, Liverpool had not - a response to racial inequality that lagged behind other areas in the UK despite the Black community's longer establishment in Liverpool (Frost and North, 2013, Liverpool Black Caucus, 1986). During the years of Militant influence in Liverpool, attempts to implement positive action to rectify racial inequality within employment and housing markets in Liverpool were blocked. This was driven by a colour-blind ideology to discrimination, based upon a belief that all forms of discrimination were on the basis of class (Frost and North, 2013). For the small, but influential number of militant councillors, given the ongoing experience of decline across the city, any form of positive action in favour of the Black community would cause a backlash amongst the rest of the working-class residents of Liverpool (Frost and North, 2013).

Further to these experiences of exclusion, the Liverpool Black community was subjected to institutional racism at the hands of the police (Vulliamy, 2011). The small Granby area in which the Black community was contained experienced a high police presence (Frost and Phillips, 2012). One aspect of the treatment of Blacks in Liverpool was the use of stop and search powers to target Black males (Frost and Phillips, 2012; Vulliamy, 2011). These experiences of police discrimination, leading to a breakdown in the relationship between the community and the police (Frost and Phillips, 2012), are a key aspect in understanding the 1981 Toxteth riots (Liverpool Black Caucus, 1986). Although the riots mobilised the local white population to stand up against authority (Belchem, 2006), subsequent inquiries into the social conditions that played into the riots (see Gifford et al., 1989) described the discrimination faced by Liverpool's Black community as 'uniquely horrific' (Belchem, 2014; Vulliamy, 2011). These inquiries also found that negative

stereotyping of the Black community was prevalent in the local police force (Frost and Phillips, 2012; Lees, 2011). Indicative of this were the views held by the, then, Chief Constable, Kenneth Oxford who held the opinion that Liverpool's Black community, particularly those of mixed race, were prone to violence (Frost and Phillips, 2012) - a stereotypical view harking back to the assumptions and stereotypes expressed in the Fletcher report (Christian, 2008).

The preceding sections of this chapter have explored aspects of Liverpool's' decline, illustrating the way that this decline played out and left its mark on the city. Driven by a failing local economy, high unemployment and ill-conceived housing policy, depopulation left inner-city areas suffering from the adverse effects of high house vacancy and abandonment. Given the focus of this research on refugee settlement, it is important to note that it is largely across Liverpool's inner urban core that asylum seekers are dispersed. That these are areas with a large volume of cheap, available housing stock is a crucial factor underpinning this decision. These sections have touched upon the continuing pattern of segregation that, despite boasting one of Britain's longest established Black communities, rendered the Black population of Liverpool invisible in all but a very small area of the city. The decline of Liverpool also shaped the perceptions of those outside of the city, playing into a set-apartness that would reinforce a collective sense of identity for those within.

3.5 Renewal and Regeneration: Liverpool as an urban experiment

Liverpool is a turbulent city of rapid social change (Couch, 2003), both its rise to prominence and subsequent fall from grace are indicative of this. However, this is also revealed in the ongoing process to rebuild and regenerate the city. According to Couch (2003), over approximately 60 years, Liverpool has been a testing ground for urban policies and regeneration initiatives; the city has undergone more restructuring and urban change than virtually all other British cities. Consequently, the topic of regeneration in Liverpool is broad, with a large body of research exploring different aspects

of it (see, for example, Couch, 2003; Couch and Cocks, 2013; Uduku, 1999). In this chapter, I will focus on giving an overview of this process, tracing the journey of regeneration from some of the earliest attempts to modernise through to the rebranding of the city as part of the European Capital of Culture.

As the earlier sections of this chapter have shown, initial attempts at regenerating Liverpool focussed on modernisation in the face of a housing crisis. The Liverpool Interim Planning Policy of the 1960s represents one of the first attempts at formulating an overarching city plan (Couch, 2003) to provide solutions to a housing crisis driven by the impact of World War II and poor-quality housing stock across inner-city areas. Following surveys of available housing stock, the council had deemed over 35% of its stock to be unfit for purpose (Couch, 2003). This plan marked the start of the process of slum clearance, a process that would eventually exacerbate the decline of the city. Further to this, Couch (2003) states that, given the focus on responding to increasing congestion in the city centre, this policy was drawn up on the assumption that Liverpool was continuing to grow. Based on this assumption of continued growth, plans to deal with congestion in inner-city areas focused on a process of suburbanisation. This would see communities, specifically white communities, dispersed to the outskirts, supported by the development of new towns and suburbs (Frost and North, 2013).

As the city continued to spiral into decline, central government began to put in place initiatives to address growing inequality in the city, in a bid to kick start regeneration. The Urban Programme, as one example of these initiatives, would go on to fund 50 projects across the city's inner core. At that time, unemployment was not identified as a problem in Liverpool; rather, the concerns were around education and youth. Subsequently, the programmes focussed on initiatives that would target these areas (Couch, 2003), providing funding for nurseries and community centres. Despite spawning 50 projects focussed on addressing education inequality and services for Liverpool's youth, this programme attracted criticism for focussing on ad-hoc, local efforts with insufficient resources to make any lasting difference in the city (Frost and North, 2013).

Whilst some of these earlier attempts at regeneration focussed on local solutions, a change in government would see a shift in policy that would prove detrimental to Liverpool. The period between 1968-1978 saw several different regeneration plans being drawn up. However, these plans were never fully implemented and, following the election of a Conservative government in 1979, the designated funding for these proposals (in the region of £48 million), was withdrawn (Frost and North, 2013). According to Frost and North, the withdrawal of funds, in this case, was reflective of a shift in urban regeneration policy away from centrally funded initiatives towards a focus on private and commerce-led regeneration (Frost and North, 2013). This shift proved detrimental to plans to revitalise and regenerate the city. In the period from 1979-1984 rather than attracting commerce, the city was shedding commerce at a rapid rate, losing 40,000 jobs from its manufacturing industry following the loss of companies such as British Leyland and Lucas Aerospace (Frost and North, 2013).

During the same time frame, the Toxteth Riots in 1981 highlighted a specific need for targeted investment in some of Liverpool's deprived communities. It was around this time that Michael Heseltine was appointed to the role of Minister for Merseyside, giving rise to the establishment of the Merseyside Task Force and eventually the Merseyside Development Corporation (Couch, 2003; Frost and North, 2013). This offered Liverpool some access to central government investment to tackle the social problems in the city. Whilst the task force had some clear successes, most notably the regeneration of the Albert Dock, in terms of creating jobs and making the city attractive for private investment the task force, on the whole, was a failure. Between 1981-1983, the task force spent £120 million, and as a result, it created 1500 jobs, and brought in just £25 million of private investment (Couch, 2003). Further to this, despite emerging partly in response to the Toxteth riots, with a view to alleviating racial and economic inequality, the funds were not sufficiently targeted towards addressing these problems (Frost and North, 2013).

Whilst these regeneration initiatives were criticised for doing little to address inequality, it must be noted that this period overlapped with a Labour

council heavily influenced by Militant tendency. Liverpool's Militant element in the council had an oppositional relationship with central government and has been acknowledged as instrumental in the failure to effect real change in the city (Couch, 2003). Despite the investment made during this period, Liverpool's decline continued, with unemployment rising from 20% in 1981 to 28% in 1983 (Frost and North, 2013).

3.4.1 Europe, culture and rebranding the city

Despite many years of attempts to kick-start the revitalisation of the city, initiatives covered, thus far, were at times ill-conceived and exacerbated the experience of decline and depopulation. As has been stated, the Conservative policy of commerce-led regeneration had failed to create any change in Liverpool; the city failed to attract investment from the private sector (Frost and North, 2013). Moving on from this, the 1990s saw the emergence of the active participation of the European Union in the process of regeneration. In 1993, the EU designated Liverpool as an Objective 1 area (Couch, 2003; Meegan and Mitchell, 2001), providing access to EU funds to support development and infrastructure in regions identified as 'falling behind' (Couch, 2003). Implementation of the fund was set around the delivery of four key priorities. Briefly, priority one was 'Developing Business', the intention behind this was to increase the capacity of the region to generate income through business. Priority two focussed on 'Developing People' in a bid to develop the potential of the workforce, Jobs, Education and Training (JET) centres were set up across the city to achieve this. 'Developing Locations' was priority three, which focussed on improving the infrastructure and transport links in the region. Finally, priority four focussed on 'Developing Pathway Communities' targeting deprived neighbourhoods through the creation of local partnerships (Couch, 2003).

This final priority of the Objective 1 funding would shift the focus back towards the development of local solutions to tackle local problems. The funding was to be specifically targeted at areas in most need (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001). This led to the creation of partnerships between

neighbourhoods. The North Liverpool Partnership is one example that comprised of three inner-city wards, Breck, Everton and Vauxhall and some parts of Melrose (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001). One of the issues with a partnership approach that crosses a broad geographical area was the reliance on organisations within these partnerships to work together. This was particularly a problem in north Liverpool, where Meegan and Mitchell (2013) argue that tribalism at a neighbourhood level presented as a barrier to partnership. Couch (2003) maintains that this focus on area-based initiatives and partnerships led to a fragmentation of regeneration. Nevertheless, the European Regional Development Fund helped to rebuild and redevelop the infrastructure of the city and, through the establishment of The Merseyside Partnership, the capacity of the city to market itself to potential investors and tourists had increased (Sykes et al., 2013)

As has been discussed, initiatives to kick start regeneration within the city had for some time involved funding from Europe, increasing the capacity of the city to attract investment. According to Liu (2014), it was to be European intervention, in the guise of European Capital of Culture, that would prove a catalyst for the regeneration of Liverpool. The decision that Liverpool's bid to be the European Capital of Culture had been successful was announced in June 2003 (Jones and Wilks-Heeg, 2004). The, then, leader of Liverpool's city council, Mike Storey, and the chief executive, David Henshaw, stated that Liverpool's successful bid reflected the desire to involve and engage the whole city in the process of Capital of Culture (Jones and Wilks-Heeg, 2004). Liverpool's successful bid was based around a 6-year programme that would be delivered by the Liverpool Culture Company, culminating in the 2008 Capital of Culture year (Liu, 2014). Within this programme, each year from 2003 had a focus. These included a Year of Faith in 2004 and a Year of Heritage in 2007 - the year that Liverpool celebrated its 800th birthday.

ECOC was part of a shift towards culture-led regeneration, resting on the assumption that culture and participation in cultural activities can have a positive impact on quality of life and improve social cohesion (Liu, 2014). Addressing these problems within Liverpool had become crucial to changing

perceptions of the city and breaking down some of the barriers to investment in Liverpool (ibid). This shift was representative of a change in the way Liverpool approached regeneration, with more emphasis being placed on collaboration with the private sector (Jones and Wilks-Heeg, 2004). Through collaboration with organisations, such as FACT (Foundation for Art and Creative Technology) and LIPA (Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts), culture became a way of revitalising the city and changing the negative perceptions shaped by the decline of the 1970s and 1980s (Jones and Wilks-Heeg, 2004). Taking the lead from the notion that culture could change perceptions and provide a catalyst for regeneration, ECOC presented Liverpool with the opportunity to reinvent and rebrand the city (Boland, 2010b; Jones and Wilks-Heeg, 2004; Platt, 2011).

This rebranding of the city, as a consequence of ECOC, was, to some extent, a success (Cox and O'Brien, 2012). Perceptions of Liverpool shifted, and the tone of (national) media reporting about the city had changed (Cox and O'Brien, 2012). However, the rebranding of Liverpool has led to criticism. For Boland (2010b), Liverpool's rebranding and regeneration through a narrow version of 'culture' had effectively sanitised many aspects of local culture, playing into questions around whose culture was included and reflected within this model of culture-led regeneration (Boland, 2010; Jones and Wilks-Heeg, 2004)

In a post-ECOC Liverpool, the signs of its successes are evident; ECOC provided a boost to the city, particularly in the way it enabled Liverpool to be marketed as a tourist destination (beyond the regular Beatles tourists). During 2008 and the years beyond, visitor numbers to the city have increased (Cox and O'Brien, 2012). Perceptions of people both inside the city and beyond have changed, and this is reflected in the fact that Liverpool was voted the third best tourist destination in the United Kingdom in 2016 (Dean, 2016). Further to this, ECOC, with its private sector collaborations marked Liverpool out as being 'open for business' (Melville et al., 2007). City councillors have stated that without Capital of Culture, much of the regeneration and development of the city centre, including the £1 Billion

Grosvenor Liverpool One retail development, would not have happened (Frost and North, 2013).

However, despite the much-needed boost that Liverpool got from ECOC one major criticism remains; the revitalisation and economic growth of the city centre that was driven by ECOC has been of little benefit to the deprived areas around the city's inner core. Indeed, the impact and focus of ECOC is framed as city-centric (Boland, 2010b; Cox and O'Brien, 2012). The growth and regeneration of the city centre stand in stark contrast to the deprivation and persisting inequalities playing out in the neighbourhoods which surround it (Boland, 2010b). These experiences of regeneration and the frustration at the lack of impact beyond the city emerged in the narratives of participants in this study, as captured in chapter 6. These frustrations are found to play into the way that residents made sense of different forms of regeneration, including regeneration through ethnic enterprise, in areas outside of the city centre.

3.5 The impact of austerity

While the focus of the previous section was on the ongoing regeneration of Liverpool, it also hinted at increasing frustration around the persistent deprivation playing out across the city, particularly in those boroughs which make up its urban inner-core. Whilst deprivation and inequality have long been a feature of Liverpool's socio-economic history, there is a need in this chapter to offer some discussion around the impact that austerity had on the city.

Following the global economic crisis of 2008, austerity measures were introduced in the UK in 2010 by the newly elected coalition government (Beatty and Fothergill, 2014). Whilst the economic crisis was essentially a private sector crisis, the introduction of austerity measures shifted the burden onto the public sector (Blyth, 2013) with reduced public sector spending rationalised as a necessary measure towards tackling the implications of the crisis and reducing the UK's budget deficit (O'Hara, 2015; Toynbee & Walker, 2020).

Whilst austerity measures were implemented nationally, the impact of them was uneven across the country (Beatty & Fothergill, 2014; Darling, 2016) and, arguably, hit the poorest areas of the country the hardest (Parnell et al, 2015). Given the focus on reforming the welfare state – through reduced payments and tighter eligibility criteria – one aspect of this geographical variation is, partially, explained by varying benefit claimant rates across the country (Beatty & Fothergill, 2014). Alongside the uneven impact of welfare reform, it has also been reported that the countries most deprived authorities and poorest communities "suffered disproportionately higher levels" of local authority budget cuts (Hastings et al, 2015: 4). The uneven distribution of measures has, arguably, increased inequality across the country and between authorities, and limited the capacity of local authorities to provide services and support for those most in need (Gray & Barford, 2018).

In the context of Liverpool, the economic implications of austerity on the city have been widely reported both nationally (see Thorp, 2019) and in local media outlets (see Cameron-Chileshe, 2019). During the period 2010 – 2020, Liverpool faced budget cuts of 64%, a loss of around £444 million (Thorpe, 2019). At an individual level, this loss, reportedly, equates to an £816 per head fall in spending (Butler, 2019; Thorpe, 2019), with one in four – 55,000 - households feeling the financial strain of the cuts (Ryan, 2017). It is in the context of these experiences of limited resources that the recent settlement of refugees and people seeking asylum is playing out. The accounts captured in chapter 7 of this thesis offer insight into the way these experiences have shaped a narrative of resource threat, reinforcing the boundary between those included/excluded from notions of the 'local'

While these experiences of austerity are, relatively, recent, local narratives of being harshly treated by a Conservative government are aligned with a broader discourse around the cities (long-standing) oppositional relationship with central government (Jeffrey, 2017). Where my conversations with local participants touched upon austerity, there was a tendency to anchor these experiences into the experience of the decline of the 1970s and 1980s. A common feature of these conversations was a

sense that the experience of austerity had reinforced an understanding that the Conservative party had a vendetta against the city, evidenced, for example, by leaked documents pointing to a Thatcher-era policy of running the city into a managed decline (Parker, 2019). As stated earlier in this chapter, this oppositional sense of identity – what Belchem (2000) calls the cities set apartness – plays into the identity of the city and its people, reinforcing the 'us versus them' mentality (Lees, 2011) that we see playing out in the politics of belonging captured in chapter 7 of this thesis.

Alongside playing into Liverpool's collective sense of identity, the experience of austerity – as part of the cities ongoing oppositional relationship with government – also reveals its sense of exceptionalism (see Belchem, 2000). This sense of exceptionalism plays out in several ways in relation to austerity. Firstly, the 'Tory Vendetta' narrative (see Parker, 2019) is underpinned by a perception that the cuts imposed upon Liverpool City Council were the harshest across the country. More recently, there is a similar 'exceptional treatment' narrative emerging around the government's response to the coronavirus pandemic.

Another facet of this exceptionalism centres on the response to austerity, particularly at a community level. Here, and echoing the sentiment of the narratives of welcome captured in chapter 3, there is a sense that the way the community has organised and pulled together to look after 'our own' is uniquely 'typical' of the city and its people. As the empirical chapters of this thesis will show, this sense of collective responsibility remains a crucial aspect of the cities identity and ethos. However, given the nature of the scouse identity, one which is collective (set apart from the rest of the UK), whilst also fragmented and contested, the current study offers the opportunity to gain insight into the extent to which refugees and people seeking asylum can navigate this identity and gain inclusion to this notion of 'our own'.

3.6 Liverpool now: growth and diversification

This chapter has traced some aspects of the history of Liverpool, following a pattern of the rise, fall and ongoing regeneration that has shaped the city as

it is today. The city today is growing and expanding. The population of the city recorded at the last census in 2011 was 466,415 (Liverpool City Council, 2013). Whilst still significantly less than the numbers recorded during its early 20th Century heyday, a comparison with the 2001 population, which recorded a population of 439,473, shows that Liverpool's population is expanding (Rodwell, 2008). A further dynamic of this growth is that the population of Liverpool is diversifying. Drawing from the same data, Liverpool's BME population has increased from 6.9% to 11.3%, whilst the White British and Irish population has decreased. (Ibid) This diversification of the city, layered on top of an existing population that has a uniquely mixed heritage, has resulted in a complex diversity that is not fully captured by the census data. This diversifying population includes, amongst others, people born in the city, many with their own history of migration and heritage, national and international migrants, students, professionals and asylum seekers and refugees. The range of social characteristics and variables that this population incorporates, including different migration histories, languages, ethnicities and legal status, reflects the multidimensional nature of populations described by Vertovec (2007) as 'Super-diverse'.

As the city is growing and diversifying, it is also changing. As the narratives captured in chapter 5 show, established patterns of settlement within the city are being disrupted, student accommodation is fuelling a growing urban population within the city centre. At the same time, house prices and availability have affected the diversity of local neighbourhoods (Uduku, 1999). One important dynamic in this disruption, given the focus of this thesis, is the impact of the dispersal of asylum seekers into traditionally white, working-class areas driven by the high availability of cheap housing stock. New geographies of settlement and encounter are opening up across Liverpool, providing the potential for positive interaction across difference alongside tension and hostility, as revealed in the graffiti I have observed in north Liverpool (Photograph 1). As the traditional patterns of segregation are being disrupted, newer ones emerge. In the city centre, a new pattern of spatial segregation is emerging, given the price and small size of dwellings, it is now largely host to a transient population of professionals and students,

rather than families (Couch et al., 2009). As a result, Liverpool, as a context for understanding the emergence of an everyday multiculture, provides a unique opportunity to explore a dynamic and unfolding situation.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to provide a contextual backdrop to this research, providing insight into the history of the city and the way that it has shaped and continues to shape, the city as it is today. This chapter has traced the history of Liverpool from its rise to prominence, exploring how the growth of the city and its population would set patterns of settlement that are still evident today. These patterns of spatial segregation would eventually set the tone for the way that race has played out in Liverpool. Exploring the fall and decline of the city, these themes can be identified again. As out-migration and de-population hit Liverpool, discrimination would contain the city's ethnic minorities into a small area of Liverpool 8, whilst white communities were disrupted and displaced across and beyond the city. Depopulation and segregation, fed into perceptions and negative stereotyping of the city and its people, further embedded by the nature of media coverage of the Toxteth riots and the Hillsborough disaster. It would take an intervention from Europe, largely through the European Capital of Culture, to see a step-change in the approach to regeneration within the city. And yet, the stark contrast between the growth of the city centre and the poverty of its nearest neighbourhoods remind us that Liverpool is still treading a tightrope between success and failure (Kennerley, 2010).

In relation to the context of this research, Liverpool is diversifying, and traditional patterns of settlement are being disrupted; the dispersal of asylum seekers into the north of the city is a part of this. Given the story of this city, particularly with regards to its history of immigration, segregation and race, alongside the new geographies of settlement and encounter that are opening up, Liverpool presents itself as an interesting location to conduct this study. Moving on, having outlined the aims, questions and concepts that underpin

this research within the context discussed in this chapter, it is the study itself, its methodologies and methods, that the following chapter addresses.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Methods

The preceding section of this thesis presented a discussion on the context of this research, looking in-depth at the specificities of Liverpool as a unique location for this study. Following on from this, the current chapter aims to outline the methodological approach employed within this context. The discussion that follows is structured into five parts: *research design, participants, methods, ethics and positionality and potential limitations*. The first section outlines the epistemological approach underpinning this study before presenting a discussion on the case study design that is adopted. Having outlined the design, drawing attention to the multi-scaled and multi-sited approach that is employed, the following section focusses on the participants. This section outlines the approaches taken to sampling and strategies used in the field to ease access. The third section looks in more detail at the specific methods applied in this study with regards to both data collection and analysis. This discussion focuses, firstly, on the combination of methods utilised, reflecting on the experiences of using these methods. Following this, there is a subsection discussing the analytical approach employed in this study. Before closing with a discussion on potential limitations the chapter focusses on ethics and positionality. This section is reflective, drawing from the research diary that I had kept throughout my fieldwork.

4.1 Research Design

4.1.1 Epistemology

This research employs a qualitative methodological design. Given the exploratory nature of this study, a qualitative approach was best suited to investigating and understanding the views and meanings that individuals attach to their experiences (Creswell, 2013). A qualitative approach is advocated by existing literature focussing on encounter and experiences of living with difference (Hall, 2012; Hardy, 2014; Mayblin et al, 2016; Wise,

2014). Further to this, given that this research presents a case study of one specific locality, I follow the lead of Hall (2012) in that whilst I make use of tools such as census data and indices of deprivation to understand more about this locality, I argue that these quantitative tools are limited. In the words of Hall (2012: 135), “the dilemma of these quantitative data sources… is not what they render as visible, but what they omit – what human dimensions remain invisible.” A qualitative approach, as employed here, is more suitable to capturing these human dimensions, in turn enabling a better understanding of the complexities of lived diversity and how people encounter and negotiate difference in their everyday lives (Wise, 2014).

It is also important to note how my methodological assumptions have shaped the approach taken within this study. Creswell (2013) contends that all research begins with, and is underpinned by, philosophical assumptions regarding knowledge. This branch of philosophy, epistemology, is concerned with the nature of knowledge (Jupp, 2006) or more specifically with “how we can come to know” (Krauss, 2005: 759). The answers to these questions concerning knowledge are varied; however, debates fall broadly between the positivist and the constructivist paradigms (Krauss, 2005). Rather than a positivist approach, which posits that there is a single, objective reality, this research is based upon a constructivist perspective. A constructivist epistemology centres on the understanding that social reality is constructed and interpreted by individuals (Creswell, 2013; Krauss, 2005; Punch, 2016). In opposition to the positivist paradigm, the constructivist approach rests on an ontological position that there is no single observable reality. Rather, the social world comprises multiple realities (Creswell, 2013; Krauss, 2005).

From a constructivist perspective, knowledge about the social world is rooted in the subjective experiences of the individual and co-constructed between the individual and the researcher (Creswell, 2013). Given the constructivist epistemology underpinning this research, it follows that the design and methods employed would need to facilitate engagement with participants, allowing me to gain insight from their subjective experiences (Creswell, 2013; Flick, 2009).

4.1.2 Case study design

The discussion in the preceding section gave an outline of the philosophical assumptions that underpin this research. Leading on from this, I will now outline the specific design employed in this study. A case study design was adopted primarily because it is an approach which is suited to in-depth, exploratory research (Denscombe, 2016). Case studies enable the researcher to pay close attention to the nature and complexities specific to the case in question (Denscombe, 2016; Yin, 2014). At this point, it should be noted that a case study is not necessarily a method in and of itself; rather, according to Thomas (2016: 9), it is “a focus and that focus is on one thing, looked at in depth and from many angles”. Thomas (2016) asks us to consider the case as a container, using the image of a suitcase as a container for everything packed within it. Applied to the case study, everything we are interested in is contained within this case and is in “constant interrelationship with one another” (Thomas, 2016: 13). The purpose of a case study, then, is to gain insight into the complexity of what is bounded within the case (Denscombe, 2016: Thomas, 2016: Yin, 2014).

For this research, an embedded case study design was employed. This is a specific type of case study which involves a layered approach, incorporating a wider holistic case and further in-depth study into units embedded within this wider case (Thomas, 2016). The diagram below (figure.1) illustrates the specific design employed within this research. In this instance, the wider case, or context, of this study is Liverpool, with further in-depth study carried out at a neighbourhood level across five specific areas in the city. While not a strictly comparative study, the multi-sited nature of this design allowed for comparisons across locations to be drawn, shedding light on differences occurring within and across the city.

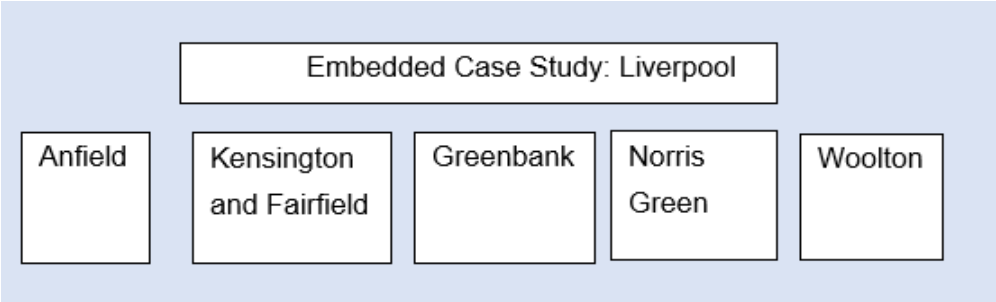


Figure.1 Embedded Case Study Design

Whilst constructing this design, I considered, and, subsequently, dismissed, other variations. Other designs I had considered included a simple, single case study of Liverpool and a multiple case study approach wherein the subunits shown in figure.1 were studied as stand-alone, bounded cases (Yin, 2014). However, I felt there was much to gain from a multi-scaled approach, which enables an insight into the wider city-level responses to refugee settlement alongside study at the micro-level opening up the possibility of understanding experiences within the neighbourhood and the street. Further to this, the embedded design employed here helped the research avoid representing Liverpool and the experiences and perception of those within it, as a homogenous unit (Goodson & Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2017). Rather, the approach taken here reflects an understanding that 'place' is not a container of homogenous identity, nor is it static (Darling, 2016). Place, in this sense, is subjective and continuously (re)constructed as a result of interactions, relations and experiences (Phillips & Robinson, 2015; Gorman-Murray & Nash, 2014). Thus, an embedded design was employed to better reflect and capture these "…multi-layered constructions of place and community" (Phillips & Robinson, 2015: 410).

4.1.3 Case Selection and Sites of Research

This research presents an in-depth embedded case study of the experiences and responses to refugee settlement within Liverpool. I chose to conduct my research in Liverpool for several reasons. Firstly, Liverpool is currently one of the main hubs for dispersed asylum seekers in the UK and, as such, this location has what Thomas (2016) identifies as instrumental value. That is, as

a location for this study, Liverpool offered the opportunity to gain insight into this specific issue within a real-life context. Secondly, as discussed in depth in the context chapter of this thesis, Liverpool presents as an interesting case through which to investigate the experiences of refugee settlement. Whilst not standing out as a migrant hub in the UK, the specificities of Liverpool, particularly the history of the city with regards to migration, mobility, settlement and race, alongside its current pattern of diversification, marks Liverpool out as an interesting location for research (Belchem, 2000; Lane, 1987; Frost and North, 2013).

Despite the establishment of the Liverpool City Region-Combined Authority (LCR-CA) and the devolution of some powers, afforded by the implementation of the Cities and Local Government Act 2016[15], policies and budgets are still mostly governed by the administrative boundaries of the City of Liverpool. Therefore, to gain insight into city-level approaches to refugee settlement, it was decided to align the geographical boundaries of this study with the political and administrative boundaries of the city (see figure. 2, below).

Thinking specifically about my focus at the neighbourhood level, I acknowledge that utilising these fixed administrative districts could be problematic. This is, largely, because these fixed 'places' may not accurately reflect the individuals' sense of place (Gundelach & Freitag, 2015). This was indeed the case in the field, particularly with regards to the contrasting understandings of the geographies of specific neighbourhoods and communities and how these differed to the ward boundaries employed by the city council. Despite these limitations, these administrative boundaries proved a useful tool for both bounding the case and for shaping the embedded design, which was required for understanding this case at different scales.

[15] Further information on the legislation underpinning devolution can be found online at https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2016/1/contents/enacted

Figure 2. Administrative map of the City of Liverpool.

Moving on from the boundary of the case, at this point, I would like to discuss the different areas of the city that were identified in figure.1 as the embedded units within this case study. The decision regarding which neighbourhoods to include here was influenced by existing literature on the potential negative impact of the dispersal of asylum seekers into spaces of existing deprivation (see, for example, Hynes, 2009; Phillips, 2006a). In relation to the context of this research, Liverpool is the fourth most deprived city in the UK, down from first in 2007. Statistics on deprivation within the UK frame deprivation as relating to more than poverty or income. Rather, deprivation is measured across multiple domains, including, for example, employment and income, health and disability, crime and barriers to housing.

Deprivation levels are measured across each of these domains and combined to give an overall index of multiple deprivation (Liverpool City Council, 2015). In light of the concerns raised in the literature, the strategy employed to select neighbourhoods centred around deprivation and numbers of dispersed asylum seekers. The variables employed to select these neighbourhoods were as follows:

- Levels of Multiple Deprivation (as discussed above)
- Numbers of asylum seekers (in comparison to cluster targets, discussed below)

When considering the numbers of asylum seekers within an area, I drew from the limited data available within the city and compared the numbers to the cluster targets set by central government. Cluster targets were proposed as a way of ensuring that the dispersal of asylum seekers across the country was in proportion to the local population. At the time of designing the study, the cluster target was a maximum of one asylum seeker per 200 members of settled population (House of Commons Library, 2016). At this stage, I would like to note that whilst this cluster target pertains to the city as a whole, available data shows an uneven distribution of people seeking asylum across the city. Thus, while dispersal policies were introduced by central government to avoid ‘clustering’ in areas like London, they have, in effect, created pockets of ‘clustering’ at a local level.

Further to employing these variables, I also wished to avoid concentrating my research in areas typically associated with migrants and ethnic diversity. Shifting the focus into areas not previously considered in research of this kind, including areas within the north, such as Anfield and Norris Green, and the affluent area of Woolton in the south. Not only did this help me avoid potentially over-researched areas of the city, such as Toxteth, but also this approach is more reflective of the shifting geography of diversity, as noted in chapter 6 of this thesis.

Finally, consideration was given to ethnic diversity within these areas. Whilst Liverpool has relatively low levels of ethnic diversity, it was felt that incorporating areas with different levels of diversity would benefit the

research. Based on these considerations, the following areas were selected: Anfield, Kensington, Norris Green, Greenbank, and Woolton. Figure. 3, below, displays how these areas relate to the variables and considerations outlined above.

Area	Levels of Multiple Deprivation	Numbers of Asylum Seekers (in comparison to cluster targets)	Ethnic Diversity (in comparison to Liverpool as per 2011 Census)
Anfield	High	High	Lower
Kensington	High	High	Higher
Norris Green	High	Low	Lower
Greenbank	Low	High	Higher
Woolton	Low	Low	Lower

Figure. 3 Site Selection

Anfield

Anfield is a council ward within the constituency of Walton, north Liverpool. The area is home to Liverpool Football Club and has recently been undergoing significant regeneration, largely driven by the expansion of the stadium. At the time of writing, Anfield has a population of 14,136, predominantly made up of people who identify as white British (Liverpool City Council 2013). This is highlighted by the data gathered in the 2011 census, which shows that 93.2% of the population within the area at that time was white British. The area is currently ranked fifth, according to levels of multiple deprivation experienced within the city, placing the area within the 10% most deprived in the country (Liverpool City Council 2015). In terms of the number of refugees within the area, whilst the local council has no data about the dispersal and location of refugees across the city, data drawn from records of initial health assessments for dispersed asylum seekers suggested that Anfield was home to 156 dispersed asylum seekers (see McPherson, 2014). With regards to the cluster target set by the government, this number suggested that Anfield was at 214% capacity in relation to the local population (McPherson, 2014).

Kensington and Fairfield

Kensington and Fairfield is a council ward within the constituency of Wavertree, which spreads to the east and south of the city. This area was selected on the basis that, like Anfield, it has high levels of multiple deprivation and has exceeded the capacity of the cluster target for asylum seekers. However, in contrast to Anfield, the area is more ethnically diverse. Of a population of 16,240, the 2011 Census showed that this breaks down to 69.7% white British to 30.3% BME, which is above the levels of ethnic diversity for the city. Kensington and Fairfield is ranked as the 3rd most deprived in the city according to the index of multiple deprivation (Liverpool City Council 2015). With regards to the government cluster target, health assessment data suggested that there were 324 dispersed asylum seekers housed in this area (See McPherson, 2014). Using the cluster target, in this case, suggests the area is at 421% of its capacity (McPherson, 2014).

Norris Green

Located to the northeast of the city, the area is within the constituency of West Derby. The local population is 15,939, and of this, the population consists of 93.2% who identify as white British (Liverpool City Council, 2013). Norris Green also suffers from high levels of deprivation. The area is ranked eight according to levels of multiple deprivation within the city. However, in sharp contrast to the areas of Anfield and Kensington, the area has a low level of dispersed asylum seekers in relation to its local population. The data gathered by McPherson (2014) suggests that in 2013 there were three dispersed asylum seekers in the area. In comparison to the local population, this figure represents 4% of its capacity with regards to the government cluster target.

Greenbank

Greenbank is an area within the political constituency of Riverside. The local population is 15,650. Of this population, ethnic diversity is high in comparison to the numbers across the city as a whole with 79.3% white British and 20.7% BME (Liverpool City Council, 2013). In terms of local levels of deprivation, Greenbank contrasts with all of the areas mentioned previously. Of the 30 wards within the city, Greenbank is ranked 25th most deprived. With regards to the number of asylum seekers, the available data suggested that in 2013 there were 73 dispersed asylum seekers accommodated locally. In relation to the cluster target set by the government, this number suggests that Greenbank is at 90% capacity in relation to the local population. Whilst this figure is much lower than levels recorded in both Anfield and Kensington it is relatively high for the Riverside constituency, with only the Princes Park[16] area (107% capacity) having a figure above the cluster target (McPherson, 2014).

Woolton

Woolton is in the south end of the city and is located within the Garston and Halewood Constituency. Woolton has a population of 12,833 out of which 91.4% identified as white British in the 2011 Census. Woolton was selected based on the area having low levels of both deprivation and dispersed asylum seekers. Woolton, in contrast to all the other areas included in this study, has no small areas (Lower Super Outputs Areas) recorded as being amongst the 20% most deprived in the country. In relation to the numbers of dispersed asylum seekers, data relating to health assessments suggested that this area housed no dispersed asylum seekers (McPherson, 2014).

4.2 Participants

4.2.1 Sample

[16] I decided not to conduct research in Princes Park because I wanted to avoid potentially over-researched areas, such as Toxteth, which is within this ward.

My research was carried out over seven months between June and December 2018. Across this period, I conducted 71 interviews, drawing from the main stakeholder groups – namely city leaders, residents and refugees, as well as other key informers. The table below (figure.4) shows the breakdown of interviews across all groups and sites. The number reported here does not account for the presence of partners or friends that occasionally accompanied participants to the interview, nor does it include informal discussions. All participants and key informants were assigned a pseudonym. I tried to choose pseudonyms that closely reflected participants gender, culture and countries of origin. Whilst I was, initially, only going to apply pseudonyms for residents and refugees, during conversations with key informers and councillors I found that there were often aspects of interviews that they would prefer to be anonymised.

	Refugees	Residents	Councillors	Key Informers	Totals
Anfield	5	5	1	3	14
Norris Green	3	5		2	10
Kensington	5	4	1	2	12
Greenbank	4	4	1	3	12
Woolton	3	4	1	2	10
Other	2	2	2	7	13
Totals	**22**	**24**	**6**	**19**	**71**

Figure 4. Breakdown of interviews

At this point in the thesis, I would like to offer a discussion of the approach taken towards building the sample, alongside some reflections on how this played out in the field. One of the initial decisions taken with regards to building my sample related specifically to how I would categorise my sample and who I would include within these categories.

Thinking back to the earlier stages of designing this research, my initial ideas were around ‘locals’ rather than ‘residents’. However, it was difficult to pin down what I meant by a ‘local’ with regards to this study and I found myself grappling with ideas relating to the scouse identity that would eventually emerge in my findings, as will be shown in chapter 7. Leading on from this, I decided that I would need to adopt a broader definition, looking

instead at residents rather than locals, as I felt this would be easier to define and apply to the study.

In this thesis, then, the category of resident is used to refer to participants – other than those who fall within the other analytical categories of 'refugee', 'councillor' or 'key informer' – who reside within one of the five research areas. The use of this broad category was intended to allow me to build a more heterogeneous and inclusive sample, one that was not constrained, for example, by the length of time a participant had resided in the area, their migrant status or own subjective understanding of whether they are a local. Whilst this broad category proved useful in building a diverse sample – including migrants, non-migrants, Liverpool-born and international students – I am mindful that this category also throws up its own issues in terms of who is excluded from it. In making use of this label as an analytical category, I acknowledge that it excludes asylum seekers and refugees also residing in these areas. This exclusion rests on my need to include this specific group of residents within an analytical category of their own – to be able to reflect on and draw out experiences specific to this group - rather than any (incorrect) judgement that they are not residents in their own right. Further to this, there were participants that fall into the other categories of councillor and key informer who were also residents of one of these areas. In these cases these participants are included within the relevant analytical category of key informer or councillor and, as such, excluded from the category of resident.

With regards to the category of 'refugee, I felt that a, similarly, broad approach towards who was included was appropriate, an approach that is advocated within the literature (Leong, 2014; Goodson & Gryzmala-Kazlowska, 2017). Given that this case study was designed to explore and capture the complexities of the case, I felt that this approach would better enable me to build a sample that captured the complexity and layered nature of the city as it continues to diversify. In this thesis the category of 'refugee' moves beyond the legal application of this label and includes individuals who have refugee status as well as those within the asylum process. This definition included those who have registered as asylum seekers and are

awaiting a decision, those who are appealing a failed asylum claim, through to those whose applications have been approved and have been granted refugee status.

Given that this research was a case study of Liverpool, I wanted to employ a strategy towards sampling that avoided a ‘groupist’ approach, where there is a focus on one given group or ethnicity (Goodson & Gryzmala-Kazlowska, 2017). It was thought that a broader approach towards building a sample would better reflect the heterogeneity of the local refugee and resident populations (Ibid). This approach acknowledges that within the broad definitions of ‘refugee’ and ‘resident’ there is no homogenous identity. Rather, these identities are themselves a complex, and multi-faceted interaction between a range of social relations, such as age, class, gender and religion (Walby, 2009). To this end, the approach used here is influenced by, albeit not strictly implementing, a Maximum Variation Strategy (MVS) in building a sample of participants. MVS, as advocated by Goodson & Gryzmala-Kazlowska (2017), is an approach which seeks to build variation, rather than representativeness into the sample. The approach is based on the idea that if the participants within a sample are as different as possible, there is potential for generalisable conclusions to be drawn from commonalities between them (Goodson & Gryzmala-Kazlowska, 2017).

In the context of this study, the intention was to achieve as diverse a strategy as possible, although it must be noted that potential participants were not excluded on the basis of MVS. Looking at how this approach played out within the field, the final sample covered an age range between 18 and 77, with variation built into a sample reflecting a range of countries of origin, histories of migration and education and employment status amongst other features. Appendix A and B to this thesis contains a detailed breakdown of demographics for both the residents and refugee samples.

Leading on from this approach, I kept track of my sample throughout my fieldwork. This meant maintaining a running record of demographic information, particularly with regards to residents and refugees. Keeping this record proved to be a successful strategy, in that it allowed me to understand

my sample, identify any obvious gaps or issues and find ways to address them. As an example, towards the end of July 2018, my records showed that I was accessing more male participants across both stakeholder groups. Looking back through my field notes, it appeared that potential female participants were very willing to talk informally in groups or over a coffee, but more reluctant to engage in a formal interview - reasons given included childcare and time restraints. To address this, I contacted Refugee Women Connect, to see if they would agree to me attending their sessions and directly approaching women to access more participants.

4.2.2 Accessing the field

Having outlined my approach towards building the sample, I would now like to discuss the strategies I employed in the field to access participants. Within the literature, there is some evidence to suggest that snowball sampling is useful in research with potentially marginalised, hidden or hard-to-reach populations (Cohen and Arieli, 2011; Goodson & Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2017). Within this study, a snowballing strategy was more successful in helping me to build my sample of residents and less so with regards to refugees. Applied to the sample of residents, this approach enabled me to make use of my existing contacts and networks within the city. This approach worked very well in some areas of the city, particularly Anfield, Norris Green and Kensington but was less effective in Greenbank and Woolton, despite having contacts in both areas. In both Woolton and Greenbank, I found approaching people directly in the field more effective. In these areas, participants were accessed following informal discussions on the bus, in cafes and at local events such as markets.

In relation to accessing refugees, I had anticipated needing to combine snowballing with ethnographic strategies within organisations, an approach that will be discussed in the following section. To this end, I had spent some time before fieldwork began contacting organisations to talk to about my research, helping to ease access into the field and raise awareness of my study. Thinking specifically about the use of snowball

sampling, I had some initial success. Contacts at one organisation introduced me to two participants, and from here I was able to access a further three interviews. Although I had limited success with this strategy, I continued to broach the subject of my participants introducing me to someone they thought would also be interested, however, I gained no further interviews using this method from September on. Like residents in Greenbank and Woolton, refugee participants were also accessed through everyday interactions within the field. To illustrate this, one of my female participants agreed to take part in the research after we spent time talking to each other to pass the time on a long bus journey.

4.2.3 Accessing participants: The role of organisations

One of the key considerations I had when designing and carrying out this research related specifically to how I was going to access participants, particularly those from within refugee communities. Reflecting upon similar issues in her PhD research, Hardy (2014) spent some time considering the barriers and distance between herself, her research topic and potential participants. In relation to this study, given that it involves multiple stakeholders, I had anticipated that I would need to make use of a combination of sampling strategies, including snowballing as outlined above. Whilst I had an extensive network and contacts across the city that proved useful for accessing residents and city leaders, I did not have a similar network to access asylum seekers and refugees. Further to this, and leading from the literature (Guerin & Guerin, 2007; Hynes, 2009; Miller, 2004), I had anticipated that trust was going to be an issue with regards to accessing asylum seekers and refugees willing to participate in my study. In navigating these barriers, I followed the lead of Hardy (2014), drawing upon ethnographic strategies, such as participant observation and volunteering in organisations that work with and alongside refugees and asylum seekers in Liverpool. Although this strategy took time to bear fruit, it proved to be particularly successful for me, allowing me to engage with potential participants and build trust. Also, employing these strategies allowed me to

gather data in a variety of forms, including observations, field notes, informal discussions and interviews. Excerpts from these are included in the thesis as vignettes.

At this stage, I would like to discuss the three main organisations that I engaged with as part of this strategy. It is important to note that over the course of both preparing for and conducting my research, I spoke to many other organisations and initiatives across the city. To this end, I have included a full list of these within the appendices of this thesis (Appendix C).

Asylum Link Merseyside

Asylum Link Merseyside is a charity based in the Kensington area of the city. Asylum Link has evolved from an informal group called 'Kensington Welcome', which began operating during the year 2000, aiming to offer friendship, support and advice. By 2001, due to demands for the services on offer the group expanded and Asylum Link Merseyside was launched. Running out of St Anne's Presbytery, Asylum Link offers a wide range of services, such as drop-in advice and support, breakfast and lunch provision, destitution support, a clothes shop and a range of wellbeing activities. Asylum Link also works collaboratively with other organisations, one example of this is the collaboration between themselves and Ullet Road Church that has led to the creation of a refugee football team - Ullet Road Rebels - who currently play in one of Liverpool's competitive open age football leagues.

I had previously contacted Asylum Link as part of my Master's research in 2017 and contacted them again in March 2018 as I prepared for my fieldwork. I was invited along for a tour of the building and spent some time talking to the staff about the services provided and collaboration between other groups and organisations. I began volunteering at Asylum Link towards the end of summer 2018, continuing this until December 2018. One of the most beneficial aspects of volunteering at Asylum Link was that I was working alongside asylum seekers and refugees who were also volunteering, allowing me to come to know them as colleagues. I spent time

volunteering across different areas of the building, including the kitchen, the food store, clothes shop and reception, giving me a good overview of the work of Asylum Link. Over the time spent volunteering at Asylum Link, I was able to gather a wide range of data including participant observations, informal discussions and interviews.

Refugee Women Connect

Formerly operating under the name MRANG (Merseyside Refugee and Asylum Seekers Pre-& Post-Natal Support Group), Refugee Women Connect works specifically to support refugee and asylum-seeking women in the area. They do this through the provision of a range of services, including visiting initial accommodation centres, weekly drop-in support sessions, casework and emotional support. Similar to Asylum Link, Refugee Women Connect has built upon the services they offer and have looked to collaborate with other groups, such as with Growbaby to help provide clothes, prams and baby furniture for expectant mothers. Refugee Women Connect is also looking to expand on the range of social and wellbeing activities it offers and is just in the process of launching its own women's football initiative in Kensington.

I was aware of MRANG from my previous Master's research and contacted them before starting my fieldwork. Initially, this led to an interview with a caseworker, and I was invited to a Refugee Week event exploring the impact of the asylum process on women. In July 2018, I contacted them directly, intending to attend sessions and speak to service users. I started to attend drop-in sessions as a volunteer/observer from August 2018. While volunteering at Refugee Women Connect, I was left to find my own way and get a feel for the sessions, which allowed me to shift between being a participant and an observer. At times, caseworkers took the opportunity to introduce me to women, and talk to them about my research, whilst at other times I was left to engage with the women and get to know them and build some rapport and trust. Throughout my time at Refugee Women Connect, I

was able to gather observational and interview data, as well as to engage in many informal discussions with the women along the way.

New Start Homes

New Start Homes is a not-for-profit organisation based in Kensington which aims to provide housing support and services for vulnerable people in the city. In 2013, responding to the growing demand for support from refugees, the group established the ‘New Roots’ project. The project aims to support the transition into mainstream services for refugees whose Home Office assistance is due to lapse.

As stated with regards to Asylum Link and Refugee Women Connect, these were organisations I was aware of and in contact with before starting fieldwork. New Start Homes was different in that I came across their work during my fieldwork. Once fieldwork began in June 2018, I continued to speak to family, friends and other contacts about my research and the progress I was making. As I continued to do this, I began to get emails and messages from contacts to tell me about events or organisations they had become aware of that might be of use to me. New Start was one such example of this. On the back of this lead, I contacted New Start in July 2018 to enquire about the possibility of coming to talk about their work supporting refugees and asylum seekers across Liverpool. I was invited in to discuss a project they had been running called ‘New Roots’ and to explore the possibility of shadowing some of their social workers.

Working alongside New Start, I was permitted to shadow practitioners who were working on the New Roots project. This involved attending meetings at the Kensington base, going out to homes, meeting with refugees to discuss issues they were having and attending drop-in services and advice sessions. Because I was in a shadowing role, I was always accompanied by a member of staff, and so the nature of this experience was very different to my time at both Asylum Link and Refugee Women Connect, as I was not given the freedom to engage in conversations and build relationships. Nonetheless, this gave me a unique insight into lives of

refugees and refugee families and their experiences with practitioners, providing an opportunity to capture field notes, observations and informal discussions inside shared houses and from attendance at drop-in support sessions. From these experiences, I was able to gather observational data, field notes and informal discussions. I did go on to interview refugees I had met through New Start; however, this was because our paths crossed again at Asylum Link and Refugee Women Connect, where I was able to build on my initial meeting with them.

4.2 Methods

4.3.1 Data collection

As stated, this study employs a case study design. One of the characteristics of such a design is the combination of multiple methods to gather data (Creswell, 2013; Yin, 2014; Thomas, 2016). A multiple method approach is advocated for exploratory case studies on the basis that the approach allows the researcher to "…capture the complex reality…" of a case (Denscombe, 2014: 55). The aim within case study research is to gain a deep understanding of the case in question. This involves the researcher being alert and open to a wide range of evidence (Gillham, 2000). In relation to this research, being open and alert to different forms of evidence proved crucial in shaping the methods that were used across the study. Alongside the interviews and observations I had intended to conduct, I also gathered data in the form of photographs - a decision prompted by events within the field. In the discussion that follows, I will outline the methods used within this research, highlighting not only their suitability to my study but also some of the issues and challenges that using these methods posed.

4.3.2 Interviews

One of the main methods of data collection employed in this study was interviewing. The use of interviews as a method for data collection within qualitative studies is advocated in the literature (Lambert & Loiselle, 2008). Within qualitative studies, interviews enable the researcher to capture

individual experiences and attitudes about the issue being studied (Lambert & Loiselle, 2008; Yin 2014). With regards to this research, I conducted 71 semi-structured interviews, averaging 65 minutes in length, with refugees and asylum seekers, residents, city leaders and other key informers (see Figure.4, above, for a breakdown of interviews). As is suggested in the literature (Yin, 2014), interviewing as a method of data collection was effective, allowing me to explore experiences and responses to refugee settlement across stakeholder groups.

In the discussion that follows, I would like to spend some time outlining the practicalities of conducting interviews, alongside reflecting on some of the challenges of conducting interviews in the field. One of my initial concerns regarding the use of interviews, related specifically to the fact that I had anticipated that language would be a barrier for some of my participants. To overcome this challenge, given that I had decided not to focus on one specific group, I spent some time before starting my fieldwork talking to organisations, such as Asylum Link Merseyside, and looking at the limited data that was available regarding refugees and asylum seekers in Liverpool to gauge the breadth of languages spoken. This confirmed that the refugee community in Liverpool draws from a wide range of countries of origin and incorporates many languages. I knew from these initial discussions that Asylum Link and Refugee Women Connect could help with interpreting some interviews and following their advice decided to get my information sheet and consent documentation translated into Arabic before starting fieldwork. I also liaised with a local Arabic interpreter to plan and budget for interpreting support where needed.

Within the field, navigating the language barrier happened relatively smoothly. Where interviews were held with participants for whom English was a second language, the support of an interpreter was offered alongside translated information and consent forms. Of these interviews, seven were conducted with the full support of an interpreter. The remaining participants chose to conduct the interviews in English. Whilst the level of English proficiency varied across the interviews, this was overcome by using strategies such as explaining questions in different ways and writing down

questions, so that participants could read them. This may have slowed down the process of conducting the interviews; however, I feel that it was important to follow the lead of my participants in this regard. The following extract from my fieldwork is illustrative of the discussions that were held with regards to the decision to participate in the interviews using English.

> **SC**: Thanks for giving up some of your time today Sahir, how do you feel now about doing the interview in English, was it ok?
>
> **Sahir:** Yes, it is good that I do this in English. It is hard my English is not too good, but I like to practice… Speaking an interview in English, it makes me feel proud! **(53, asylum seeker, Anfield)**

Doing the interviews in English also opened up some light-hearted discussions about the local 'scouse' accent being one of the barriers participants face, as illustrated in the following quote.

> **Nadira:** I think my English is good. I am very lucky because I came here and was able to use the language, which is good. It doesn't help much in Liverpool though, I listen to you and this is fine, but two, three, four people speaking, and I can't understand. Scouse language is so hard.
>
> **SC**: Do you find it hard to understand the accent?
>
> **Nadira**: That's the hardest thing for me, I volunteer in Everton and all the other ladies will speak scouse, and I don't know what they are saying, and we all laugh because they say, 'it's alright girl, we'll teach ya' **(46, refugee, Kensington)**

I intend to include the 'raw' quotes from these interviews in my findings chapters to testify to the range of language abilities among refugees and asylum seekers and to stay faithful to the ethnographic approach of my study.

Moving away from the practicalities of conducting interviews with potential language barriers, there were a range of other issues throughout the fieldwork. Most notable was the issue of the logistics of arranging interviews. I found that it was harder to arrange and manage interviews in some areas than others; this was truer of Woolton than any other area in the city. The issue I faced here related to finding and arranging a suitable,

mutually convenient time for a face-to-face interview. I also found that potential participants in Woolton were more likely to cancel or rearrange, citing work or family commitments as the main reason behind this. This was particularly true of participants that I had been 'introduced' to via email or Facebook messenger, and less so where the arranged interview had come from direct contact in the field. Considering the reasons for this, it could be that being in the field and accessing participants through direct contact facilitated some trust in both me and my research.

One additional issue that I faced within the fieldwork was people not showing up for interviews. This was one of the issues I faced within my pilot study, where I had travelled to Kensington to meet up with a participant at a pre-arranged time, however they failed to show up. At the time, I was frustrated by this, as I could think only of the time I had lost in the field. However, moving forward from this experience, I ensured that I always had something else I could do if this happened again. Where it did occur again, I had my camera, notebook, pens and pencils and was able to use the time to gather other data, such as photographing local spaces and spending time in the local area capturing experiences and observations in my field notes.

4.3.3 Observations

Drawing from the suggestion that case study research should take place in a real-life context, I intended, as much as was practical in a multi-sited study, to be present and engage in the contexts within which I was studying. With this in mind, and as stated earlier following the lead of Hardy (2014), utilising ethnographic strategies, I made use of observation as a tool for gathering data. As with Hardy (2014), the act of being present helped ease my access in the field, helping me to build trust and rapport with participants. Additionally, making use of observational strategies presented me with opportunities to align what was being said about refugee settlement, multiculture and diversity with how people acted (Gillham, 2000). In this regard, observations and interviews can be seen as complementary tools in a multiple method approach. Further to this, as suggested by Vathi (2011),

the inclusion of observation strengthened the rigour of the design employed in this study.

In the field, whilst conducting these observations, my role varied. At times I took on an active role, whereby I was a participant in the activities I was observing, for example, as a volunteer. At other times, I took on a more passive role, with observations captured in places such as bus stops, on buses or in cafes. These observations were captured in field notes and diary entries and took place across all research sites. Observations were crucial to my developing understanding of the case, giving me insight into the performative nature of some practices in Liverpool. In some instances, observation was part of further contact with people who had been or would go onto be interviewed. Some of these observations revealed insights around the contrast and tension between convivial everyday behaviours and the hidden, at times hostile, views expressed in an interview.

4.3.4 Photographs

Alongside the methods outlined above, this study has also gathered data in the form of photographs, some of which were taken by me and others by participants. When I originally planned this research, I had not planned to use photographs as a form of data collection; however, this is a method that I incorporated due to events within the field. The incorporation of images and visual methods into social research is advocated by Grady (2004: 18) because images capture “complexly layered meanings”, storing these as an easily retrievable representation. The way that photography is conceptualised has some impact on how they will be used within research. A naïve realist approach would frame photographs as a replication of the reality of a setting or event (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004: Tinkler 2013). This approach fails to account for the role of the photographer in constructing the image, in choosing what to include and what to omit (Tinkler, 2013). The photograph can instead be viewed as subjective, reflecting the attention of the photographer at the moment the image was captured (Grady, 2004). The

photograph below (Photograph 2) is illustrative of this. Louise, one of my participants, took this photograph whilst we walked through her local park.

Photograph 2: Unwelcoming. Taken by Louise, September 2018

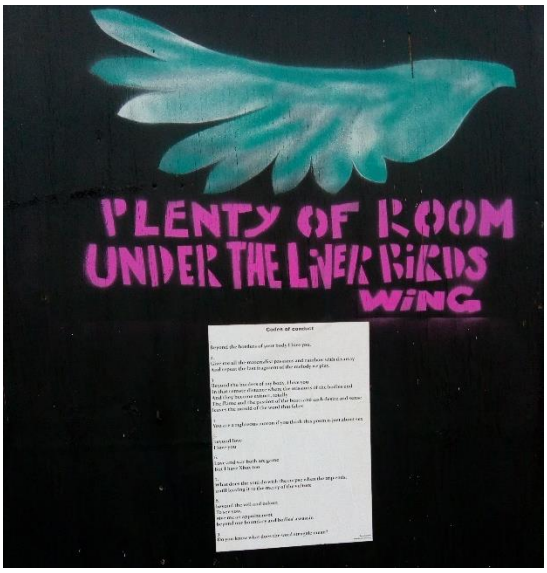
Louise had asked to meet me in the park as this was a space she felt was welcoming and a space where she gets to meet and speak to different people. We were walking around the park, when we saw some rubbish, the rubbish included wine bottles, nitrous oxide canisters and condoms. When we got closer, we saw that there was some graffiti on the floor, and I asked Louise how she felt about this and asked if she wanted to take a photograph. For her photograph, Louise chose to zoom in on the graffiti omitting any of the other rubbish nearby and any of the park landscape. The framing of her photograph is something I discussed with Louise, in a bid to co-construct an interpretation of the photograph. The following is an extract from that discussion:

> **Louise**: Well, on a Monday you do see this kind of rubbish. You know from kids being in the park of a weekend, so it's not unusual. I'm not saying I like it, I'm proud of this area and this isn't nice to see, but the park has always been used as a space for kids in the night-time too, so.
>
> **SC**: So, is that why you have framed your photograph around the graffiti, because it is unusual?
>
> **Louise**: Yes, I suppose so, I mean I didn't overly think of that. But it was the graffiti that caught my eye, it's not what I'm used to seeing here. **(63, resident, Norris Green)**

Despite having not intended to make use of photographs as a method for collecting data, as stated in the introduction to this thesis, a photograph that I took in October 2017 played some part in prompting and shaping my thoughts for this study. The photograph was taken in a space I pass through daily; I am used to this space being full of graffiti and ordinarily pay it no attention. However, this graffiti caught my eye, disrupting my routine walk through the underpass and, at this point, I felt compelled to take a photograph, to capture a moment in time. At this time, I had no plans or thoughts about the graffiti, I just felt an urge to capture it before it was removed by the council, which it was the following week.

In relation to my fieldwork, this feeling of having to capture something before it was removed or altered was part of what led to the incorporation of photographs as a form of data. By chance of circumstance rather than planning, my fieldwork overlapped with the Liverpool Biennial[17]. One of the pieces unveiled in the city as part of the Biennial was The List, an art installation by Banu Cennetoglu. The List documents the names of over 34,000 asylum seekers, refugees and migrants who have lost their lives within the borders of the EU. During the time the piece was in Liverpool, it was vandalised, repaired and then vandalised a second time. What followed the vandalisation of the list was a period through which the site continued to evolve, for example, through the addition of positive messages, as illustrated in photograph 3 shown below.

[17] A presentation of international art within the city which ran from July to October 2018.



Photograph 3: The Liver Birds Wing. S. Carney, August 2018.

Seizing upon this opportunity to capture something that related to my research, I visited the site weekly for over a month, capturing the changes to the site in photographs and field notes and taking the opportunity to talk to people passing by.

4.4 Data analysis

The analytical approach employed in this study drew from grounded theory. In this regard, my emerging understanding of the case was ‘grounded’ in the empirical data (Hutchison et al., 2010; Oktay, 2012). At this stage, I would like to note that data analysis involved both deductive and inductive approaches. In this regard, when I began to code my data, I already had some ideas and themes in mind, which were informed by my reading around the topic and existing research. Whilst I did have these initial ideas, these merged with my own as my understanding of the case developed. Following a grounded approach, data analysis and transcription began alongside the fieldwork. Given that I used public transport to get around the city throughout my fieldwork, I made use of this time to read through notes, listen to recordings and capture my early thoughts and feelings. I started the transcription of my interviews alongside my fieldwork, taking the opportunity to transcribe on days where I had no interviews scheduled.

During this early stage of analysis, I used a research journal to record any thoughts, questions and themes emerging from my experiences in the field and from the data (Creswell, 2013). This approach allowed me to develop a sense and feel for the data that I had been collecting (Bazeley, 2013; Gillham, 2000) whilst also shaping my ongoing fieldwork. A grounded approach advocates for returning to the field to ensure “theoretical saturation” has been achieved within the case (Oktay, 2012). In this sense, the researcher can return to the field to “fill the gaps” in their understanding and any emerging theory (Creswell, 2013: 85). Creswell (2013) likens this approach to ‘zig-zagging’, with the researcher moving from the field to the data and back into the field. In my experience, I found that having an early sense of the data allowed me to zig-zag between the field the literature and the data. That is, the early data analysis not only informed my emerging understanding of the case, feeding into subsequent interviews but also prompted and shaped my ongoing reading of relevant literature.

Moving into the later stage of data analysis, the research adopted a thematic analytical approach, supported by NVivo. Initially, I carried out a process of open coding. This process involved working with the transcripts in NVivo, applying codes that conveyed meaning about parts of the data (Basit, 2003; Hutchison et al., 2010; Oktay, 2012). At this stage, some of these codes were descriptive in nature, allowing me to tag each piece of data with information, such as research site and stakeholder group, whilst others were thematic. Themes identified in this first stage of coding included convivial striving, sense of community, familiarity and being welcoming. Having coded and tracked my themes according to each stakeholder group, I began to look deeper at how these themes compared within and across these groups and different locations.

Throughout the analysis, I employed a combination of both manual and computerised techniques, using NVivo software. As suggested in the literature (Basit, 2003; Hutchison et al., 2010), NVivo proved particularly useful as a solution for working with and storing large volumes of data, allowing me to organise my data according to research sites and mode of data collection. Further to this, I could organise each piece of data according

to stakeholder group and track themes across each group individually, which proved particularly useful when comparing themes across these groups. Moving beyond the effectiveness of NVivo as a solution for storing and organising the data, I found it an effective and efficient tool for the initial process of open coding.

In contrast, as I moved into the final phase of analysis, I found a manual method more useful. Whilst NVivo does have a search function, I found that manually interrogating the data allowed for a closer comparison and consideration of links and relationships, largely because at times, whilst participants were talking about similar ideas, the language used was different. Having considered and mapped out connections and relationships, NVivo again proved useful for enabling me to store and record relationships. In an approach advocated by Hutchison et al. (2010), I used the relationship and memo tools on NVivo to tag together coded sections of data allowing me to pull together the evidence relating to these connections.

4.5 Ethics and Positionality

4.5.1 Ethics

Before the start of my fieldwork, and to obtain ethical clearance from the university, I made a thorough assessment of the ethical implications posed by my research. In doing so I was mostly guided by Edge Hill University's code of conduct and ethics policies (RO-GOV-01; RO-GOV-03) alongside the Economic and Social Research Councils Framework for Research Ethics (ESRC, 2018). In line with the nature of this research, I sought additional guidance from Edge Hill University's institutional policies relating to research with vulnerable adults (RO-GOV-11). This process involved completing a risk assessment, consideration of ethical issues and putting in place measures and safeguards to manage these issues and limit risk. Issues that were covered within my initial consideration of ethics and risk, included informed consent, personal safety, language barriers, confidentiality and data management. In the discussion that follows, I will focus on specific ethical dilemmas that occurred within the field.

One of the issues that my initial assessment had reflected upon was the potentially sensitive nature of the topic, not only with regard to these topics being potentially distressing (an issue I pick up on later in this section) but also with regards to the possible use of racist language. In my initial assessment of these issues I gave some consideration to how I would navigate the use of racist language, both in the field – in terms of my own responses to it – and also in terms of my analysis and selection of empirical materials.

With regards to responding to racist language, I am a committed anti-racist and my own personal preference would be towards challenging instances of racism where they occur. However, in this instance and taking considerations around safety into account, from the outset I made the decision that I would be upfront about my own positionality with regards to this topic and to racism more broadly (a subject I cover later in this chapter), however, I decided I would not challenge or confront participants about their use of racist language during interviews. In the field, my approach towards responding to racist language, largely, followed this initial decision. However, there were instances where participants use of racist language was, seemingly, more a result of uncertainties around language rather than any racist intention. In these circumstances, I took the decision to respond, and to offer my thoughts on the use of the language used and why this is inappropriate. In all of these situations my response was well received and did not lead to confrontation.

With regards to the selection of empirical materials, decisions around the use of comments including racist language where taken with consideration given to what the comments contributed to an understanding of the case in question. As an example, the empirical chapters contain the use of the racial slur ‘paki’ in the accounts of three different participants, including Sahir (an asylum seeker from Pakistan). Across these accounts, the differing uses of such language offers some insight into the history of language, the experience of shifting attitudes towards what is (or is not) acceptable), and the impact such language can have at an individual level. The intention behind including material containing racist language in the thesis is driven by

a desire not to pass judgement or paint participants in a bad light, rather to reflect the complexity of participants and their specific experiences. In doing so, the thesis is able to move away from a binary understanding of people as all good/all bad, racist/not racist and instead engage with these complexities and contradictions. Where such accounts have been included, I have offered some discussion around the language used and the particular experiences of participants. The intention in doing so is not to excuse racism, rather this approach allowed me to contextualise such comments and begin to offer some reflection on participants relations to racism.

Further dilemmas emerged around the issue of obtaining informed and voluntary consent. As stated in the earlier discussion regarding sampling strategies, I had begun my fieldwork employing a snowball sample, making use of my contacts and network as the source for initial participants. During this time, I was contacted by an acquaintance who had seen a post I had put on Facebook regarding starting my fieldwork. She contacted me to say that her friend was a refugee who lived locally and asked if I would like to meet her. I planned to meet with my acquaintance and her friend, Mai, initially on an informal basis, at a local café. During this initial meeting, I got a sense that my acquaintance was having to persuade her friend to take part, and I began to question the extent to which her participation would be voluntary. At that stage in the fieldwork, I did not take up the opportunity to carry out an interview; rather, I took Mai's contact information intending to maintain contact and allow her to consent at a later date. I met with Mai a further four times on an informal basis, each time for a coffee at the same local café. At times our conversation would turn to my fieldwork and how it was progressing. On the final visit to the café, Mai voluntarily consented to take part in the research by asking me if I would like to interview her.

A further issue that came up, related to getting participants to sign consent forms. Whilst this never posed any real ethical dilemma, I feel it is important to note these issues in case other researchers doing similar work can draw something from my experiences. Part of the process for gaining ethical clearance involved the design of a consent form. Whilst considering the ethical implications of my research, I had anticipated that there might be

some concerns regarding signing any documentation. While I was able to get these signed, I did make some interesting observations about this experience. Firstly, and echoing some of the experiences of Kabranian-Melkonian (2015), I felt some hesitation before my interviews with asylum seekers and refugees when it came to signing consent forms. Approximately a quarter of asylum-seeking and refugee participants paused before signing the form, with some returning to the information sheet before signing. This happened even in interviews where the participant had been emailed the information forms and had replied to say they had read through the information and would like to take part in the study. A smaller amount of those that hesitated took the opportunity to ask questions specifically about this process, such as ‘Do I need to sign this?’, ‘What do you use this for?’ and ‘Can I take part if this isn’t signed?’ This hesitation was not experienced during interviews with other stakeholders, rather in contrast to this experience I had to urge residents to read the information sheet carefully, with at least half wanting to sign the consent form without reading through the information.

Finally, given that my research concerns experiences of migration and seeking refuge in Liverpool, I had anticipated that there was the potential for participants to become upset during interviews. Whilst the vast majority of the interviews progressed smoothly, there were two interviews were participants became visibly upset. One of these was with a refugee and the other a resident. In both cases, it was whilst discussing their own experiences of mobility and migration that this occurred. These discussions both touched on personal experiences of loss. For Sahir, this was the loss of his home and his work, which gave him a sense of pride, while for Louise, this was the loss of a child that prompted a move away from the city. In both instances, I followed the procedures I had set out in my risk assessment, by taking a break in the interview, allowing the participant time and only proceeding where they indicated they were ready to do so. The interview with Sahir was carried out in a local café, and when Sahir became upset, I suggested we should take a break and ordered us both another drink of coffee. During the break, I asked Sahir to show me his drawings. I had met

Sahir at a drawing club, so he knew I was interested in this and he had brought his work to show me. The interview with Louise was conducted in her home, where she had photographs and memories of the child; as such, it was hard to shift the focus of the conversation. However, recalling that she enjoyed gardening, I asked if she wouldn't mind showing me her garden whilst we took a break. Both participants indicated that they were happy to complete the interviews after a short break. In terms of my wellbeing, while it was difficult to see Sahir upset, having gone through similar experiences to Louise, I found it hard to maintain my composure, and the short break was needed and welcomed as much by me as her.

4.5.2 Researcher positionality

In this section, I would like to offer a discussion of my positionality as a researcher. I will disclose my position in relation to the context of this study, before going on to discuss my experiences within the field itself in relation to my identity, and how my positionality shifted throughout the fieldwork. As stated earlier in this chapter, this research is underpinned by a constructivist epistemology, which assumes that reality and what we can know of it is subjective (Creswell, 2013). Leading from this assumption, it follows that I bring my own subjectivities to this study. To be transparent about these, and to enable readers to make informed judgements about the research (Dean, 2017), it is important to disclose my positionality in relation to this study. Firstly, concerning the topic of this research, I am not neutral. I am an advocate for refugee rights, I have engaged in voluntary work with asylum seekers and conducted previous research within faith-based organisations supporting refugees in the city. Alongside this, I am a native to Liverpool and passionate about local communities, having been involved in local social enterprises and regeneration projects within the north of the city. The dual position that I adopt is reflected in my commitment to understanding the experiences of refugee settlement from multiple perspectives, as well as influencing the impact agenda of this study.

Having stated that my position in relation to the field is not neutral, questions relating to the reliability and validity of this study could emerge. However, in adopting a transparent approach to disclosing my position, I am making the reader aware, allowing them to make informed judgements about the conclusions I have drawn (Dean, 2017). Furthermore, the multiple method approach to data collection employed within this study has allowed for findings to be triangulated, thus increasing the reliability and validity of the findings. Finally, as stated earlier in this chapter, I made use of a research journal to capture the decisions, thoughts, and feelings that occurred throughout fieldwork and discussed issues of positionality in supervisory meetings. As an approach for building rigour into the research, Gillham (2000) advocates using a research journal, stating that this strategy ensures that a comprehensive audit trail of the research process has been documented.

Having offered a disclosure of my position in relation to the context of this study, I will now discuss my positionality within the field. As stated above, I made use of a diary whilst in the field, which proved useful for reflecting on my positionality and for developing an awareness of how it shifted over time. The discussion that follows draws from these reflections and makes some contribution to debates around insiderness/outsiderness in social research (see for example Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; Humphrey, 2007; Savvides, 2014). In my research, I found that for my interviews with residents, particularly those from Liverpool, I was a relative insider and for those with refugees and asylum seekers, I was a relative outsider. However, and aligned with the literature, this was not static; rather, my position shifted between insider/outsiderness across the course of the research (Kerstetter, 2012). In the discussion which follows, I would like to reflect more on my experiences of this.

To some extent, being from Liverpool enabled me to be positioned as a relative insider. Interestingly, and resonating with Boland's (2010) work around the importance of the scouse accent as an identity marker, I found that my accent played a crucial role within this. A common occurrence within interviews was participants commenting on me being from Liverpool once

they heard my voice. With regards to interviews with participants who also identified as ‘scousers’, this seemed to immediately help build rapport around this shared identity. The following two extracts from my interview with Simon illustrate this.

> **SC**: Hi Simon, thanks for agreeing to meet me today.
>
> **Simon**: Oh, it’s not a problem, glad to help, especially now I know you’re a fellow scouser. **(62, resident, Anfield)**

This extract illustrates the way that my accent would prompt some form of comment around the shared identity of being ‘a fellow scouser’

> **SC**: You said you think the city is multicultural, can you tell me more about this. Why do you think this is the case?
>
> **Simon**: Well, I’m sure being from the city you know as well as I do about our history, I mean it’s something we’re proud of, aren’t we? I think being a multicultural city is all part of that, the city is a port and we have a history of people coming here from all over, so it’s part of who we are really isn’t it.

Whilst the first extract illustrates the establishment of a shared identity, the second shows how participants exploited this in their answers. In this instance, where Simon said ‘our’ and ‘we’ in his answers, his intonations and gestures revealed he meant me as well as him, that he was including me in his answer as though it was a strategy for gaining common ground or agreement for what he was saying.

To some extent, my accent, as a basis for a shared identity, did ease access into the field. I was aware that I played on this slipping into a stronger version of my, now softened, accent in interviews with some residents. This was particularly true of residents from the north end of the city, whose ‘scouse’ accent is generally stronger and with slightly harsher intonations than that in the south of the city. In contrast to this, my accent was much softer in interviews with participants who did not share this accent. To some extent this was due to the fact my natural accent is now softer, however, at times I exaggerated this, often slowing the pace of my dialogue as well, partially so I was easier to understand.

Being from the city, and a relative insider based on this, was beneficial. It meant that I had good local knowledge, a strong network and a shared identity. However, there were times this shared identity proved a challenge. Firstly, being from the north end of Liverpool positioned me to some extent as an outsider with people from the south end, something that was commented on in interviews with me viewed as ‘not from this end!’ Also, I found that having this shared identity led to many questions from participants who wanted to know whereabout in the city I was from, where was my family from or whether I was related to the Carneys in such a place. Whilst at times this was light-hearted, if a bit exhausting, there were occasions where these questions probed other parts of my identity. For example, when hearing my family were largely from Everton, participants would go on to ask if I was Irish, and if so, was I Catholic. These comments and questions were relatively harmless; however, my answers marked me out as of Irish-Catholic heritage, which on one occasion led to an off-handed sectarian comment, albeit passed off in a jovial manner.

Exploiting different facets of my identity, as with my scouse identity above, helped me to build rapport in interviews or initial meetings with people in the field. My experiences in this regard echo those of Dwyer and Buckle (2009) in that finding and exploiting shared experiences or identities helped me to shift my position. So, in interviews that I had found difficult or where participants had been ‘stand-offish’, I was able to overcome some of this and build rapport based on some aspect of shared identity. One example of this occurred in interviews with mothers. I found that establishing that I was a mother opened the opportunity to talk about this shared identity, helping build rapport before the interview started. These experiences were captured in my research diary and these notes reveal that I expressed different facets of my identity, dependent on who I was interviewing. For example, in interviews with leaders, I focussed on presenting my professional identity, putting myself forward as a former teacher and now a researcher in the city rather than the student identity I used with younger participants. This also impacted on the way that I chose to dress for interviews, generally in the field I adopted a comfortable, relaxed appearance wearing jeans, jumpers and flat

shoes; however, if my interview was with a city leader or officer at the Cunard Building, I would opt for more professional-looking attire.

With regards to my position in relation to refugee and asylum seekers, I also noted how my position shifted at times as the fieldwork progressed. As stated earlier in this chapter, to ease access to participants, I became closely involved with three organisations that work with refugees and asylum seekers. In terms of reflecting on my positionality, my time at Asylum Link was most interesting. When I first began volunteering at Asylum Link, I was welcomed as a newcomer by fellow volunteers and, at this point, I experienced this as an outsider. As the newcomer, I was asked lots of questions by volunteers and service users about my background, whether this was part of gaining trust or making conversation I am yet to fully understand. However, these questions stopped over time and I began to feel that my position had shifted and that I had, in a sense, been accepted as part of Asylum Link. It was at this stage in my fieldwork that people opened up to me more and I began to schedule more interviews. I also noted that from this point on, where there were newer volunteers, I had become part of this 'welcome' and was actively encouraged to ask questions and find out more about the newcomer. Whilst I experienced this as a shift in my position away from outsider towards insider, it is important to note that 'insiderness', in this regard, was fragile. I experienced this insiderness as fragile because it needed maintaining. For example, where I had spent several weeks volunteering on the reception getting to know a group of volunteers very well, moving to another part of the building disrupted the relationship and I found it hard to maintain this relative insiderness. When I moved back to reception after a few weeks, I found my position had shifted back towards outsiderness.

4.6 Potential limitations

Before bringing this chapter to a close, I offer here a discussion of what could be viewed as potential limitations of this study. Firstly, in relation to positionality, my relative insider position as a native to the city may have

acted as a barrier to participation, particularly with regards to accessing refugees and people seeking asylum. Further to this, I found that refugees were more reluctant to discuss their concerns or negative experiences with me, thus resonating with Miller's (2004) writing on the difficulties of moving beyond the 'frontstage' when researching with refugee communities. However, I believe that the methods adopted in this study allowed me to negotiate these issues in the field and enabled me to build relationships and trust. Further, I believe my positionality as a 'native' was of benefit to this study, allowing me to draw on a shared sense of identity in interviews with established residents.

Secondly, in relation to my approach to sampling, I am mindful that the size and diversity of the sample, particularly with regards to 'residents' may have obscured a politics of belonging, specifically the emergence of newer hierarchies of belonging (Back and Sinha, 2012) as negotiated between long term, native residents and newcomers at a neighbourhood level. However, the approach employed here was beneficial to this study for several reasons. Adopting a 'broad-brush' approach to sampling allowed me to avoid a groupist methodology, reflecting instead a more heterogeneous and changing population. Further, keeping the sample size in each area relatively small allowed me to manage the challenges of conducting a multi-sited and multi-stakeholder study within a short time frame. Finally, adopting a narrower focus on 'native' residents or a specific group of migrants would have obscured the complexity and messiness of the experience of refugee settlement and diversification that has been captured, however partially, by this study.

Bringing this discussion on limitations to a close, while a focus on one city allowed me to pay close attention to the impact of place on belonging, diversification and experiences of refugee settlement, extending the study to include comparison across the wider Liverpool City Region, for example with a focus in Sefton, Halton or the Wirral may have yielded interesting findings. However, such an approach was not feasible given the design and time constraints of this study. Further, it must be noted that whilst there was a specific focus on Liverpool, my fieldwork did bring me into contact with

organisations and individuals beyond the fieldwork areas giving me some understanding of these contexts and the challenges and experiences that are specific to them. Through discussions with organisations and policymakers, I understand that collaborative approaches to dispersal and the implementation of the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme have emerged in light of devolution and the creation of the Liverpool City Region. Whilst my study has given me an insight into this collaboration, I am also aware that these approaches are just beginning to bear fruit. With this in mind, I believe that research exploring responses to, and experiences of, refugee settlement across the wider city region is a potential avenue for future research.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to outline the methodological approaches taken within this study. Given that this study is interested in experiences and perceptions of refugee settlement, posing exploratory questions, it followed that the research adopted a qualitative methodology. The specific focus of this research presented some challenges. Most notable was how I could gather a broad understanding of the case at a city level, whilst avoiding a ‘groupist’ methodology or one which may have represented Liverpool, and the experiences and perception of those within it, as a homogenous unit. Responding to these challenges, the research adopts an innovative case study design, with an interest not only in city-level responses but also incorporating in-depth research across five neighbourhoods within the city. This methodology, while very challenging, gave rise to an in-depth understanding of local experiences of refugee settlement which I discuss in the following chapters.

Chapter 5: Refugee settlement in a ‘welcoming city’

Photograph 4. Liverbirds keeping watch. Taken by Barbara, July 2018.

> Me nana used to tell me a story about the Liverbirds. She said, ‘One looks out to see, welcoming the people coming to the port, the other keeps an eye over the city, keeping us all safe under her wing’ **(Barbara, 77, resident. Kensington)**

5.1 Introduction

This thesis is interested in exploring experiences and responses to refugee settlement in Liverpool. In chapter 2, I outlined the theoretical approaches adopted in this study. Here I discussed the use of the concept of everyday multiculture as a lens for exploring how refugee settlement is experienced. Within this concept, there has been a tendency to think of multiculture as emerging from everyday experiences and encounters. However, in my study, I found that to label multiculture as ‘emerging’ in Liverpool would be to dismiss what participants viewed as a layered multiculture. While the geographies of diversity and encounter have shifted, partly as a result of the dispersal of asylum seekers, multiculture is seen as part of a history and

culture of welcome. With this in mind, it is this historical and cultural dimension, that of Liverpool as a welcoming city, that will be the focus of this initial empirical chapter.

This chapter, then, aims to explore how the positioning of Liverpool as welcoming relates to, and informs, experiences of refugee settlement. To do so, I will, firstly, explore narratives of welcome and the way that these are articulated in relation to refugee settlement. Moving beyond these narratives and the experiences of (un)welcome, which unfold through encounter, the chapter will focus on formal, or institutional approaches to welcome. To this end, the chapter foregrounds three forms of welcome that were prominent in my study; welcome as actualised through dispersal, resettlement schemes and sponsorship. Closing this chapter, I will focus on the changing policy landscape in Liverpool and the signs which point to a changing approach towards welcoming refugees and people seeking asylum.

5.2 Narratives of a welcoming city

This chapter aims to explore the way that the positioning of Liverpool as a welcoming city relates to, and informs, experiences of refugee settlement. Addressing this question, the chapter begins with a focus on the narratives that participants drew upon to position the city as welcoming. While narratives of welcome were a recurring theme across my fieldwork, there were notable differences in the way welcome was framed. For established residents (including councillors and other key informants) a narrative of welcome was most commonly articulated around a specific reading of the history of the city. Whereas for migrants, the study found that narratives were constructed around the experience of welcome and notions of what welcome entails. The sections that follow will focus on exploring these distinct ways of thinking about welcome in more depth.

5.2.1: **Liverpool: a city with a history of welcome**

> "Liverpool is a port city, so it has this long history of welcome… families that can trace their roots across the globe and I think that has had a positive impact on the nature of the city, on how we respond to people. It's the idea that if you are here, then we will go out of our way to make you feel welcome… there is a sense of pride in that." **(Local Councillor, Kensington and Fairfield)**

The comment above captures the most dominant narrative of the city and its ethos that emerged in my interviews with established residents, illustrating a tendency to draw on the history of the city to position Liverpool as welcoming. In the narratives of residents, the history of immigration and settlement, discussed in chapter 3, are framed as giving rise to an outlook and ethos of welcome. In this regard, these comments resonate with existing literature exploring the connection between a dominant narrative of place which is welcoming and positive attitudes towards newcomers (see Hickman and Mai, 2015). However, it must be noted that, in the context of this study, this narrative rests on a specific, often romanticized, reading of the history of the city. The image of the port and Liverpool as a 'port city', as captured here, was a prominent feature in the historical narratives of established residents. In this reading of history, the port is a symbol of an open city (Lane, 1987), portrayed as synonymous with welcome.

Also of note is a focus on families and family histories shaped by the history of the city. My interview with Paul offered additional insight into this.

> In my family there's Irish, Welsh, Norwegian a good mix… most families in this city have a similar background I guess, like from anywhere and everywhere… My great grandmother came from Wales, and she built a life here… so, welcoming people who want to come and build lives and be part of our city is what Liverpool's about. **(58, resident, Anfield)**

Similar to the councillor's comment, there is a focus on family histories which stretch beyond the boundaries of the city. Both comments point to the way that narratives of place, interwoven with family histories of migration and settlement, can give rise to a discursive ethos of welcome. However, in his

comments about wanting to build lives and be part of the city, Paul presents welcome as conditional and resting on the actions of migrants. This shifting of the onus of welcome on to migrants is a theme I will return to later in this chapter.

Returning to the way that historical narratives can be used to position Liverpool as a welcoming city, an additional feature in these narratives was a focus on the history of settlement and specific communities. The following extract is from my interview with Louise:

> **SC:** I want to go back to what you said about, well what you tell people who are coming to visit the city. You said that Liverpool is a welcoming place. Can you tell me a bit more about this? What do you think it is that makes the city like this?
>
> **Louise:** It's what the city is about, it's all about welcoming people, you only have to think about our history. The Chinese have been here for donkeys' years; we have the oldest Chinese community in history in England… and erm I don't know how I'm supposed to say it… the coloured fellas, they came and settled, and all these cultures have shared the city and made it what it is today. **(63, resident, Norris Green).**

Through her comments on the history of different communities, Louise presents Liverpool not only as a city with a history of welcome but also as a city that has long been shared. These narratives of a shared city echo an official narrative constructed by Liverpool City Council in the build-up to Liverpool's successful bid for ECOC in 2008. As noted in chapter 1 , in the build-up to ECOC, Liverpool was rebranded as "The World in One City", a reference to the cities apparent history of multiculturalism and diversity (Kruger, 2014).

This reading of Liverpool's history as one of a shared city is one feature of a romanticized vision of the city, presenting an imagined history in which the port, migration and settlement are associated with family histories and the economic resurgence of the city. In retelling the history of the city in this way, this narrative largely ignores, or glosses over, alternative histories (Massey, 1995) of segregation, racial and religious tension (see, for example, Costello, 2001). As will be shown later in this chapter, this

romanticized retelling of the city can be problematic when this vision of welcome is contrasted with contemporary experiences of welcome as realised through refugee settlement and dispersal. Thus, a romanticized history of the city is found to play into the welcome which is extended (or otherwise) to refugees and people seeking asylum.

Before moving on, I would like to highlight another feature in Louise's comment, namely her apparent lack of vocabulary to describe or discuss Liverpool's established Black community. Louise's comment about not knowing the appropriate terminology captures the way that she, and other residents, reflected on a sense of uncertainty over the language that they were using. To illustrate this further, I include the account of Maureen:

> There's always been some mixing in like even when I was young the chippy was ran by a Chinese family and, I think most areas had a shop that was, well we would call it a Paki shop, but I think that's frowned on now. **(61, resident, Norris Green)**

While my findings do touch upon the use of racial slurs as part of targeted hostility and abuse, for the most part, I found this language was normalised and frequently used as part of everyday conversation. Most participants, as illustrated in the accounts of Louise and Maureen, showed awareness that this language was inappropriate, however, alongside apologising for their use of such terms would go on to comment that "this is what we have always called it" **(James, 38, resident, Greenbank)**. This study, then, points to the normalisation of such racial slurs and how this limits the extent to which their use is deemed racist.

5.2.2 Historical narratives as sense-making

The preceding section focussed on a narrative of welcome that is rooted in the history of the city. In the sections that follow, I will focus on the way that this narrative relates to and informs contemporary experiences (and practices) of welcome. Whilst a historical narrative was central to the way that residents positioned Liverpool as a welcoming city, the study also found that this narrative allowed residents to make sense of refugee settlement and

diversification. Associating welcome with the history of the city and as something familiar, is, therefore, part of the process of adapting to and making sense of these changes (Carney, 2019a[18]; see also Hall, 2012). To illustrate this, I include the comments of Simon and Suzanne.

> The city has a history of welcoming people… it's part of what we have always been about. People needed a place back then and we gave it, shouldn't be any different now. **(Simon, 62, resident, Anfield)**

> As a port-city I guess we're used to welcoming people, it's who we are in a way so to offer sanctuary, to be a city that does that makes sense. **(Suzanne, 31, resident, Anfield)**

For Simon and Suzanne, the settlement of refugees in Liverpool, whilst a recent development in Anfield, is framed as a continuation of welcome. In this regard, a historical narrative of welcome enables these recent experiences of welcome to be anchored into something familiar.

In addition to playing into a process of sense-making, a historical narrative of welcome was found to inform the experience and performance of everyday interactions with difference. My interview with Andrew, for example, pointed to the history of the city as playing into an ethos of welcome and informing ideas about 'typical scouse' behaviours and attitudes (Carney, 2019b[19]).

> Well, it's a cornerstone of our DNA as scousers, we have a long history of people coming here, and being welcomed, and because of that, we have an open and friendly outlook. **(63, resident, Anfield)**

Thus, the history of the city is understood as shaping an open and welcoming outlook towards newcomers (Hickman and Mai, 2015). In this regard, a collective identity (Robinson, 2010) can be seen as potentially shaping experiences of and responses to immigration and welcome. For Andrew, then, not only is welcome part of the history and culture of Liverpool but it is also embodied by the people of the city. This notion of people from

[18] Carney, S., 2019a., *Everyday multiculture and refugee settlement in Liverpool*. Conference paper, IMISCOE Spring Conference: Transforming mobility and immobility – Brexit and Beyond

[19] Carney, S 2019b., *Living with difference in a 'welcoming' city.* Conference paper. RGS-IGB Annual International Conference 2019

the city as embodying welcome was common in my interviews with residents with comments such as, “it’s who we are” **(James, 38, resident, Greenbank)** and “it’s what we’re about” **(Amelia, 40, resident, Woolton)** frequently appearing in interviews. Further, this framing of welcome as associated with the nature and disposition of residents also emerged in interviews with migrants, as captured in the account of Majid.

> It is hard to put your finger on; there is a feeling of ease, of welcome. This is the attitude of the city, but also it is the nature of the people. **(22, male, Asylum Seeker, Anfield).**

With regards to the way that this welcoming disposition was experienced or translated into everyday practices, participants from across the stakeholder groups focussed on convivial gestures, such as a smile, as central to the everyday performance of welcome. While this understanding of welcome was the most common in this study, it must be noted that for some migrants a sense of (un)welcome was also articulated around institutional forms of welcome, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

5.2.3 Contrasting visions of welcome

When thinking about residents’ use of historical narratives to position Liverpool as welcoming, the current study also found tension and conflicting emotions emerging when this vision of welcome is contrasted with the welcome that is currently playing out through refugee settlement and dispersal. To illustrate this, I will return to the account of Suzanne introduced earlier in this chapter. Suzanne spoke about welcome as part of the identity of the city, as a consequence of being a port-city. However, when thinking about the current settlement of refugees in Anfield, alongside a desire to welcome, the anticipation of the economic implications of welcoming refugees was found to trigger conflicting or ‘messy’ emotions (Vuolteenaho and Lyytinen, 2018).

> Do we have the means to do that, to welcome people? We have homeless people in town, families on the bread line. At the same time, the thought that we could say to people, especially women and children ‘Nah jog on, you’re

> not welcome' because of finances, I find that hard to take, it doesn't sit right. **(Suzanne, 31, resident, Anfield)**

Suzanne's comments offer a glimpse at a gap which emerges between an ethos of welcome, resting here on an often romanticized vision of welcome, and the anticipation of what extending a welcome might entail. Rather than pointing to a disengagement with the politics of welcome and immigration, Suzanne's experiences indicate a rationalisation of welcome. A welcoming disposition is, seemingly, weighed up against the economic implications of refugee settlement alongside existing local problems, such as urban poverty and the experience of austerity.

Further insight to this rationalisation of welcome emerged when welcome, as it is currently unfolding amid a period of austerity, is contrasted with previous experiences of refugee settlement. Elenor, for example, spoke to me about her experiences of volunteering to support the settlement of Kosovan refugees in the 1990s.

> Liverpool has this history of welcome, of communities pulling together… So going back years, to the 1990s, the council organised everything to do with the Kosovan refugees coming, they organised houses, schools and all of that, but it's so different now… for a council in a situation where they have no money, what with budgets like they are now… Can they fund projects for refugees? Do they have money to spend on this now? **(63, resident, Greenbank)**

Similar to Suzanne, Elenor compares a history of welcome, in addition to a more recent experience of welcome, with contemporary experiences of welcoming refugees. For Elenor, while Liverpool has a history of welcome, austerity has limited the capacity of the city to continue to support welcome in the way it did previously. Elenor's comments also point to gaps in the way that the council currently supports and welcomes refugees and people seeking asylum, a theme I will return to later in this chapter.

The examples shared, thus far, offer insight into the rationalisation of welcome, as well as the economisation of refugees and people seeking asylum. In both of these cases, there is no suggestion that a desire to

welcome has been suppressed (Gill, 2018). However, for a small minority of residents, the tensions emerging between a romanticized vision of welcome and welcome as actualised through refugee settlement were found to play into a disengagement with welcome and the politics of immigration. To illustrate this, I include here an extract from my interview with Andrew**.**

> Me grandfather and grandmother on me mother's side came from the Republic of Ireland. They came over… when the potato famine was in full flow. They came over and got licenses to be publicans; they worked hard… they built a life through hard work… What I have a problem with now is that people are able to come into this country under the banner of 'refugeeism' and actively seek assistance from the state under false pretences. **(63, resident, Norris Green)**

Earlier in this chapter, it was noted that resident's narratives of welcome were often interwoven with family histories, and we can see this playing out in this comment. Andrew's comments echo those of Paul, shared earlier in this chapter, capturing the use of this narrative of welcome to differentiate between those families, who came to 'work hard' and 'build a life', and the refugees currently settling in the city. Similarly, in my interview with Louise, she commented on her family history emphasising the work ethic of her grandfather, who "went to the docks every day, looking for work".

> Should we welcome them? That depends if they come over here to work, then yes. If they come over here just for money then no. No! And I've seen quite a few that come over just for money, and it's maddening to think you've worked, you've paid into the system, and they get more money than you. **(63, resident, Norris Green)**

In both of these examples, refugees and people seeking asylum are presented as 'scroungers', playing into a differentiation between migrants who are viewed as either more/less deserving of a welcome (Crawley and Skleparis, 2018). These examples, then, echo themes found in media and public discourse, offering insight into the way that welcome plays out alongside a hostile discourse around the issue of asylum and immigration (Payson, 2015). Thus, as per Darling (2018: 223), a "coarsening of public mood" towards refugees and asylum seekers can be seen to filter down into

everyday experiences (Wise, 2014), potentially suppressing a welcoming disposition.

5.3 Experiencing welcome: encountering and anticipating (un)welcome

The findings presented in this chapter, thus far, have focused on narratives of welcome from the perspective of established residents. In the sections which follow, the chapter will focus on narratives of welcome from the perspective of migrants. With regards to presenting Liverpool as welcoming (or otherwise), these narratives were commonly articulated around notions of what it means to feel welcomed. In this regard, then, welcome can be understood as emerging from the warm experience of being, or feeling, welcomed (Gill, 2018). To illustrate this framing of welcome, I include the accounts of Nadira and Majid**.**

> I would say in Liverpool people will say hello and stop and talk, or chat on the bus to you, that happens a lot. I have never been made to feel unwelcome by people here; that is my experience. **(Nadira, 46 refugee, Kensington)**

> There is a nice feel here, I don't know how to tell you, but it feels friendly, I feel welcome…[…] When I first came and had to get a bus to the city centre, I was not sure but, a man in the street showed me where the stop was and waited for it to come. **(Majid, 22, asylum seeker, Anfield)**

Both of these examples capture the way that a feeling of welcome can be mediated through encounter, even though these encounters are often fleeting. Here, positive encounter and "gestures of sociality" (Darling, 2018: 222) are framed as underpinning an accumulated sense of welcome. In this regard, these accounts emphasise the human dimensions of welcome (Gill, 2018). The experiences of Nadira and Majid also resonate with comments about an ethos of welcome shared earlier in this chapter.

To illustrate the importance of encounter to an accumulated sense of welcome, I include the vignette below, which recounts my experience of attending a school coffee morning alongside Amira **(32, asylum seeker, Anfield)**.

Vignette 1: The coffee morning: Encountering and reciprocating welcome

Amira invited me along to a coffee morning at her children's school. She is a member of the school PTA, and as a group, they organise regular coffee mornings to bring the school community together. When Amira initially told me about the coffee morning, she said that her job is to stand by the door and welcome people in. She is doing this role when I arrive, so I stand with her. Amira seems to enjoy this role; she appears very relaxed as she greets the people coming in. These greetings are mostly verbal and in English. Many of the parents stop and talk to Amira for a short time. Amira explains that it is nice to be the one to welcome people in. When she first moved to Liverpool three years ago, it was the school community that made her feel welcome and she likes that she can now help others to feel that.

At 9.30, Amira closes the main door. We enter the hall, the canteen hatch is open and a small group of ladies (all white, with local accents), who I presume are also part of the PTA, are behind the counter helping to ensure there is a good supply of toast, crumpets, tea and coffee. Amira introduces me to a young mum (Sadie - approximately 20); she explains that she has invited me along to meet people in the area and to see how the coffee morning works. Sadie tells me that the coffee mornings are a great way of bringing people together and helping parents, teachers and other members of the community get to know each other. Most of those attending the coffee morning are female, including some that I presume are grandmothers. I ask if any fathers attend and Amira tells me that it is rare. Even though the PTA is predominantly made up of white, 'local' mums, the coffee morning itself has attracted a more diverse group; I notice a wide range of accents, including other regional English accents. Most of the conversations I can hear are in English, intermingled with Arabic and what I presume is Polish. The conversations are mostly about their children. Parents are talking about how their child is getting on in school, if they like their teacher and some are telling stories about how naughty their child is. Staff members drop in and out, stopping at each table for a chat.

I ask Amira why she likes the coffee mornings; she tells me that it was other parents on the schoolyard, smiling and saying hello, that made her feel welcome and part of a community. The coffee mornings are part of that,

> helping people get to know each other. She tells me that coming here is "better than doing the cleaning up", she laughs as she says this and the other mums at our table laugh and nod in agreement.

Similar to Nadira and Majid, when thinking about her experience of feeling welcomed in Liverpool, Amira foregrounds the human and relational dimensions of welcome (Gill, 2018). An accumulation of positive encounters on the school playground is framed here as giving rise to a sense of welcome and, in Amira's case, a sense of belonging to this community. Whilst my time with Amira gave me insight into the school as a space of care and connection, which I return to in the following chapter, it also gave me some indication of the importance of reciprocity. In the case of Amira, reciprocating the welcome that she feels she received at the school is an important part of belonging to and building community. However, for some, reciprocity (or the lack of it) was found to disrupt gestures of conviviality playing into a discontinuity of welcome, which is another theme I return to later in this thesis.

Whilst the findings shared here point to the importance of encounter for facilitating a sense of welcome, the study also captured the way that notions of welcome are constructed in light of previous experiences of (un)welcome (Lynch, 2017). To illustrate, I will return to the account of Majid who, as discussed earlier, spoke about an ethos and attitude of welcome within Liverpool. Majid, who was initially accommodated in London, was dispersed to the Manchester area, where he spent two years, before being moved to Liverpool six months before our interview.

> **SC**: You told me earlier, Liverpool feels welcoming. Can you tell me more about that?
>
> **Majid**: It is welcoming, I think so, more than the other places I have lived in, it is more relaxed, people more easy going and that is part of it. When you walk around here, you feel this.
>
> **SC:** So, can you tell me more about your experiences in the other places?
>
> **Majid**: They are different. London is very busy, I was there only small time, but it was too busy, too fast. Nobody really smiling. I liked Manchester; I

> have friends there. But, they are different, here is more laid back. Everyone very easy going, smiling…saying “alright mate” (mimics local accent). **(22, asylum seeker, Anfield)**

For Majid, then, while the experience, or perception, of being welcomed is mediated through encounter, notions of welcome are also shaped and built through comparisons with previous experiences. Whilst positive encounter is central to Majid’s comparison, for other migrants experiences of (un)welcome or contrasting experiences of institutional forms of welcome, such as the support extended by the city council, also played into the sense of feeling (un)welcomed.

Through the accounts shared so far, this section has shown that, with regards to positioning Liverpool as welcoming, the narratives of refugees and people seeking asylum are articulated around experiences and encounters. As noted, where participants spoke about the nature of these encounters, they focussed on convivial encounters and everyday signs of welcome, such as a smile. However, alongside sharing these experiences of welcome, refugees also shared stories of unwelcome and hostility. It is to these experiences that this chapter now turns, to understand how negative experiences are framed in the context of a city that the majority of migrants sought to position as welcoming.

5.3.1 Targeted hostility and (un)welcome

Whilst the previous section focused more on positive encounter in relation to welcome, in this section, I focus on negative encounter, including experiences of targeted hostility. These experiences of the city were shared in a small number of interviews with migrants; however, my discussions with key informants, such as the volunteers at Refugee Women Connect, suggested that they were, perhaps, more widespread. There is, as I note in the methodology chapter to this thesis, the possibility that my positionality, in particular as someone with a local accent, limited the extent to which migrants were willing to share a less welcoming narrative of the city. However, the small number that did, alongside my conversations with key

informants, offers some insight into the way hostility and traumatic experiences are framed in the context of a city which migrants, more often than not, sought to position as welcoming.

In my interview with Sahir, he recalled his experiences of targeted hostility perpetrated by a gang of young males in the Tuebrook area of the city (before moving to Anfield).

> With youngsters, especially because our house was the corner house, it was horrible. And very small house, no fence on the front, the door is right on the erm how do you say, on to the pedestrian. So, kicking, bats, eggs, many things. I would call the police; police would come but always later. One time they broke my door…my daughters were very afraid. **(53, asylum seeker, Anfield)**

I spoke to Sahir many times throughout my fieldwork. Over time, he shared other experiences of being targeted by the same group. Most of these were attacks on his home. However, Sahir did recount experiences of encounters with this group in the street or outside the corner shop. The encounters stood in stark contrast to both the convivial encounters underpinning welcome in the discussions above and the general disposition of friendliness presented as 'typical' of scousers. However, with regards to his experiences of settling in Liverpool, Sahir still told me he felt welcomed. What follows is an extract from my interview with Sahir:

> **SC:** Earlier you told me that Liverpool is friendly, that you feel welcome here. When you think about your experiences in Tuebrook, do you still feel this?
>
> **Sahir**: Yes... Yes, I do. People are very friendly. Only the problem is youngsters… All people in my college, my teachers, [the community centre], everywhere people are very friendly, but youngsters. Youngsters, they are the other way...making trouble.
>
> **SC**: Do you think this is racism from the youngsters?
>
> **Sahir**: I think 50/50. I mean they behave bad a lot, to other neighbours too, but when they look at the face, they see you and then they shout 'Paki', then you think it is racism too.
>
> **SC**: So apart from youngsters, you do feel you have been welcomed?

Sahir: Oh, yes, very welcomed. These youngsters, just small part of the people here, most people are good.

SC: What do you think could be done to help with this, so other people don't have these experiences?

Sahir: I see them just with nothing to do, hanging round causing trouble; they don't seem to do school or job. I say I am part of community, I feel this way and my family too, but these youngsters are not.

Of note in Sahir's account is the way that he weighs up the welcome he feels that he has received in general, with the targeted hostility he experienced at the hands of these young males. For Sahir, there is a sense that whilst he has been welcomed and is part of the community, these young males are excluded, or at least on the margins, of it. Adding further insight into this, I include the account of Mai:

> When I came… my neighbours were nice, they would speak to me and say hello. Then one time, I am needing some things from the shops so am walk from my house to the Asda. I didn't have pushchair for the baby, so I am carrying her… and my oldest daughter is walking with me. I remember lots of boys standing on the corner, and they were shouting things at us… calling us names like "Chink" and shouting "go home, Chinese bitch" … I put my head down and turned around… I was very scared, but I would not cry until I got home. **(47, refugee, Anfield)**

Similar to Sahir, in my conversations with Mai, she frequently positioned the 'youths' who targeted her as a minority that was socially excluded. In this regard, both Mai and Sahir suggest that they are, potentially, better integrated into the community than these young people. Also of note, in both of these examples, we are given a glimpse at the use of racial slurs and expressions of prejudice, which, alongside a lack of a diversity vocabulary, was discussed earlier in this chapter.

5.3.2 Feeling (un)welcome: the fluidity and disruption of welcome

The experiences recounted above focused on targeted hostility, contrasting with the positive encounters which were framed as shaping a sense of

welcome. Leading on from these less welcoming experiences, the sections which follow will focus on experiences which disrupt a sense of welcome. I include here the experience of Fatima, who spoke to me about the impact that some graffiti (photograph 5) in her local area had on her sense of welcome**.**

Photograph 5: Brexit changes things. Taken by Fatima. September 2018

In my interview with Fatima, she had spoken to me about her experience of being made to feel welcome in Kensington. Shortly afterwards, whilst we volunteered together at a drop-in session, she shared this photograph with me. We spent some time talking about it, about why she had taken it, what it meant to her and how it made her feel. I include here a short extract from this discussion.

> **SC:** Tell me why you took this photograph, what does it mean to you?
>
> **Fatima**: We talk about feeling welcome, and people are friendly and make me welcome, but now I think maybe different... Brexit is not good, I read about this and talk with friends, but never feel it would change here, change people here. But I see this near my home, and it changes things.
>
> **SC**: In what way does it change things, can you explain?
>
> **Fatima**: … [people] may smile and be friendly, but they may not want people like me here… If people who are allowed to work and be here… can not be welcome, then I am thinking I am not welcome too. **(25, refugee, Kensington)**

Here we can see how the graffiti in a space that Fatima moves through regularly, gave rise to a feeling of unwelcome. Whilst this experience did not involve interaction with other residents, her comments about people smiling but potentially not 'wanting people like her' in the city indicate that this graffiti has caused her to question the sincerity of the convivial gestures of locals. Her experiences in this regard hint at a perception that a welcoming disposition could mask hostile attitudes. This idea that conviviality is a form of 'front stage' behaviour also emerged in interviews with residents, for example with comments about people showing signs of friendliness hiding "a lot going unsaid" **(Andrew, 63, resident, Norris Green)**. This is a theme I will explore in more depth in the final empirical chapter.

Whilst positive encounter gave rise to Fatima's sense of welcome, her experience suggests that the emotions which underpin the experience of welcome are fluid, open to disruption and discontinuity. In Fatima's case encountering graffiti in her local environment has disrupted her sense of welcome; thus, sensorial experiences of place can also affect a sense of welcome.

Adding further insight into the fluidity of a sense of welcome, I include the account of Marikya:

> In the daytime, the area is good place. I feel like I am welcome here. I can go to the shops; there are lots of different shops. I can buy… [Asian produce] you know…There are different people around in the daytime, so it is busy… But, it is very different place of a night-time… it does not feel nice to be here of a night… I need to be home by 8 o'clock at the latest. Once it is dark, then you have prostitutes along the road, and there are men who come into the area in cars… It makes me feel very afraid to be out of a night-time. **(22, asylum seeker, Kensington)**

We can see that Marikya draws a contrast between feeling welcomed as she moves through local everyday spaces, and how those same spaces feel unwelcoming to her as they are repurposed of a night-time (Edensor, 2010). Similar to the experience of Fatima, Marikya's experience of place is found to (albeit temporarily) disrupt a sense of welcome. In the context of this chapter, which seeks to understand how ideas about welcome relate to experiences

of refugee settlement in Liverpool, these experiences point not only to the fluidity of welcome but the role of place in the process of shaping welcome.

5.3.3 Places that are 'not for us': urban rumour and alternative narratives

Whilst the focus of this chapter has been on narratives which position Liverpool as welcoming, the study found that multiple alternative narratives play into the experience and anticipation of (un)welcome. The sections which follow will focus on my findings in relation to these narratives, starting, firstly, with the emergence of an external counter-narrative of Liverpool as unwelcoming and racist. To illustrate this, I include here extracts from my interviews with Fatima, who moved to Liverpool following six months in Ellesmere Port, and Nadim, who lived in Stockport for a year before coming to Liverpool.

> When I was first coming to Liverpool, people have told me that this is a racist place, that people here are racist… I was scared because of this. **(Fatima, 25, refugee, Kensington)**

> [People]… said to me that I would not like Liverpool - that here was racist place and I would not like… I am being told that here is dangerous, bad people... **(Nadim, 31, asylum seeker, Kensington)**

In Fatima's case, this narrative was shared in a WhatsApp group. While the group was, predominantly, used to allow asylum seekers to support each other and offer advice, Fatima told me that members also shared stories about different places in the UK as well as about the availability of support/services across the UK. For Nadim, it was people who he had come to know in Stockport that shared this narrative with him. Fatima's recollection of feeling scared because of this narrative illustrates how narratives of place can play into the anticipation of (un)welcome which, in some cases, was found to shape migrants experiences in Liverpool, as captured in the account of Marikya:

> I was afraid when I came here, where I had lived they say Liverpool is bad, the people here are racist people and many bad people too… People here

> look at you, make eye contact. I know this is how people are here, but it took me time to get used to this. I was afraid, thinking why are they looking at me, why are they watching me? I am still not comfortable… Sometimes now, if I make eye contact with someone, then I smile, or say hello back…Sometimes I wear a scarf, like this… and I can keep my eyes down. **(22, asylum seeker, Kensington)**

For Marikya and Fatima, anticipating unwelcome gave rise to a sense of social anxiety and a fear of going out and, potentially, encountering 'locals'. Given that my findings, presented earlier in this chapter, indicate that an accumulated sense of welcome is mediated through encounter, negative perceptions of the city, which in these examples played into an anticipation of unwelcome, can, potentially, hinder the process of welcome.

Further to this, the experiences of Marikya also resonate with those of Amira, shared earlier, concerning the reciprocation of welcoming, convivial gestures. Whilst Amira's experience points to reciprocity as part of the ongoing process of welcome and convivial striving, Marikya's illustrate the reciprocation of welcoming gestures despite a sense of discomfort and unease about doing so.

Alongside the emergence of an external narrative, I also found the existence of multiple internal narratives of place which focussed on the reputations of different areas in the city. The extract below comes from my interview with Grace, who, in contrast to the experiences shared above, had been told that Liverpool was a friendly place before she moved here and her own experiences, largely, aligned with this. However, on moving to another area of the city, Grace became aware of contrasting narratives, presenting specific areas of the city as having a particular reputation.

> My friend lived in Liverpool, and I moved here because she told me it was nice, people are friendly, and I came… But then there are other things people say, like don't move here or that's not a good place. I was moving to Dingle, and the taxi driver says this is very racist… it's not a good place to live. These things, they make you feel anxious. I was anxious, but I thought I have been through all this, I am not going to sit here afraid. So, I got my son and we went knocking at the neighbours to say 'hello, we are new', and they

> were lovely. They saw my boy and melted, and they brought us in, made us feel part of the community. But these stories of don't go there, this place is racist, it's not good it makes people afraid to go to places… I am outgoing, I knocked, and I say hello, other people might be too afraid, and they will find it hard to settle. **(28, refugee, Greenbank)**

Similar to the experiences of Fatima and Marikya, Grace's comment captures a sense of anxiety articulated around the anticipation of unwelcome. Grace, who admits to having an outgoing personality, decided to confront these fears and was quickly able to overcome them and experience a sense of welcome from residents in the area. Grace, at least in this regard, was relatively unique in my sample; other participants who experienced this avoided, or sought to avoid, the area in question.

In the following extract from my research diary, I recount the experience of a meeting with Amir and his support worker who focussed on housing. Amir had not long received news of his successful asylum claim and had been placed on 28 days' notice to move out of his Serco accommodation. Despite the pressing concern of needing to move on, Amir sought to avoid an area of the city with high availability of social housing, because he had been told about its reputation.

> I met Amir **(25, refugee, Anfield)** today. His asylum claim has been accepted and he has received a letter to say he has 28 days to move out of his accommodation. He has registered on Property Pool[20] and is hoping to find a home soon. Amir has selected L17 on property pool, he has friends here and has heard good things about the area. [Support worker] told him he should look at other places, not limit his search to L17. This area is highly sought after and there are only a very small number of social housing properties in the area. Amir asked me for my opinion about different areas. I suggested some areas where I know there are lots of properties. I suggested staying in Anfield as he already knows the area. Amir did not want to stay in Anfield as there is too much crime and a lot of gangs. [Support worker] suggested Tuebrook. There are a lot of social housing properties here and

[20] Property Pool is the online directory with social housing for Liverpool and its surrounding areas. Residents are assessed and allocated a letter which denotes how they are prioritised for housing; they then use the system to 'bid' for available houses.

> the waiting list is relatively short. But Amir told us his friend in college said Tuebrook is racist and not for 'people like him', so he will not move here. **(Fieldnotes 3.10.2018)**

In this extract, we can see the way that the reputation of a neighbourhood plays into the anticipation of unwelcome, which, in this case, effectively limits Amir's mobility options across the city. I had the opportunity to share these findings with organisations such as New Start Housing and The Whitechapel Centre at an impact event in Liverpool[21]. I found that my findings resonated with the experience of these organisations. Most notable from the feedback given, practitioners from The Whitechapel Centre[22] reported that the asylum seekers that they were supporting were anxious about the possibility of being housed in specific neighbourhoods because they had been told about the reputation of the area. This suggests that urban rumour and perceptions around crime are part of the atmosphere of (un)welcome in Liverpool.

5.3.4 Is conviviality enough? The absence of institutional forms of welcome

The findings presented in this chapter have explored narratives that position Liverpool as welcoming (or otherwise), and a common theme in these findings has been the importance of encounter and the practice of routine gestures of welcome. However, the study also offers insight into the expectation of a more institutional form of welcome articulated around concerns that everyday conviviality is not necessarily indicative of a welcoming city. In my interview with Fatima, she spoke about her experience of being welcomed in Liverpool in comparison to Ellesmere Port.

> People have been friendly, but I don't know if that is being welcomed. In Ellesmere Port, they make sure you have what you need, not just somewhere to live, but information about what is this place, what is this

[21] Academics - meet – Practitioners Impact Event, 22nd February 2019, New Start Homes Office, Kensington, Liverpool. Organised by Migration Working Group – North West
[22] A homelessness support charity in Liverpool – full details in Appendix x

> community, where can I go to get help, support, meet people. I had expected the same, but here nothing. **(25, refugee, Kensington)**

Whilst Fatima acknowledges the friendly disposition of residents, her comment questions the extent to which this friendliness is enough to position the city as welcoming, indicating an expectation of a more formal approach to welcome. Thus, the absence of welcome, framed here in relation to the availability of information about the neighbourhood and about how to access community organisations or support, plays into Fatima's experience of welcome in Liverpool. These comments capture the way that Fatima's expectation of institutional forms of welcome has been shaped in light of her experience of welcome in Ellesmere Port, pointing to the way that notions of welcome are constructed in light of previous experiences (Lynch, 2017).

Fatima's comments, then, point to welcome as shaped by expectations. Earlier in this chapter, I presented findings pointing to welcome, and its emotional contours, as fluid and shifting. With regard to the expectations of welcome, the findings of this study point to the temporality of these expectations; thus, the expectation and, subsequent, experience of (un)welcome also seemingly shifts. Fatima, at the time of this interview, had only been in Liverpool for a short time and her sense of (un)welcome was shaped by a gap between the institutional welcome she anticipated and the one she received. In my later conversations with Fatima, facilitated through volunteering, her sense of welcome was shaped less by an expectation of an institutional response (although it must be noted that she believes that for new migrants an institutional response is essential) and more by everyday encounters.

Moving now to explore this expectation of an institutional welcome from the perspective of residents, I found that questions emerged around the extent to which the council lived up to a responsibility to welcome. In my interview with Andrew, for example, despite sharing negative views of refugees and asylum seekers, he shared his expectations that the city council should ensure that refugees and asylum seekers who are in the city are welcomed and supported.

> They have an obligation to support everybody in the city, irrespective of their status. So, they have a responsibility to make people feel welcomed. I'm not au-fait with what Big Joe[23] is agreeing to, but it's clear to me that he has agreed to asylum seekers coming here, and that commitment has to be followed up. You can't agree to let them in, house them in what I could only call low-demographic areas, and then leave it to the community to welcome and support. **(63, resident, Anfield)**

This comment is illustrative of the way residents questioned the extent to which the council's sentiments of welcome were followed up with institutional forms of welcome, actions and policies. Andrew's comments resonate with the experience of Fatima, whilst also pointing to an understanding that the onus for welcoming migrants has fallen onto the community. In this regard then, Andrew is questioning the extent to which the community and the residents of the city are left to fill the gap.

5.4 Beyond the everyday: formal approaches to welcome

The preceding section indicated an awareness of more institutional forms of welcome, offering a glimpse at the impact of an absence, whether experienced in the case of Fatima or perceived in the case of Andrew, of these on migrants and, to a lesser extent, residents. Leading on from this, I will close this chapter with a focus on three formal approaches to welcome: *welcome as actualised through dispersal, refugee settlement programmes, and community sponsorship*.

5.4.1 Permitting entry: welcome as actualised through asylum and dispersal

The focus of this section is on exploring narratives of welcome that are articulated around dispersal. Liverpool's role as a dispersal area since 2000 was one aspect of a narrative of welcome which emerged in my interviews

[23] A name used by locals to refer to Liverpool's Mayor, Joe Anderson.

with councillors and council officials, as illustrated in the following extract from my interview with one of the Labour councillors for the Anfield area:

> When you look at what we do, what we've done, as a council, then you absolutely have to agree that Liverpool is a welcoming city. We have led on dispersal since 2000, and I'd say we have, more so than most other places, been successful in making asylum seekers welcome here.

In my interviews with councillors and council officials, there was a sense of pride articulated around dispersal and what this says about the city. This comment, then, captures an association between being a welcoming city and involvement in the process of the asylum system through dispersal. Whilst a small number of councillors spoke about the support systems and infrastructure that has emerged in Liverpool since 2000, for the majority, the success of welcoming through dispersal rested more on the numbers of dispersed migrants. To some extent, then, this framing of welcome, as actualised through the process of dispersal, rests more on welcome as related to admittance than on the emotional and relational dynamic foregrounded by Gill (2018).

Whilst it was common for dispersal to be framed as a successful form of institutional welcome, some interviews, particularly those with informants employed within sectors that support asylum seekers, approached dispersal and its place within a narrative of welcome differently. In my interview with Suraya, a volunteer with faith-based organisations that support asylum seekers, she spoke about problematising this association between dispersal and welcome.

> It's not as simple as saying we are a dispersal city, so that means we are welcoming. It's not clear cut, dispersal is a part of a hostile way of treating vulnerable people; it is, how do you say, passing the buck. So just being a dispersal city in itself… you could look at this and instead say engaging in this process helps keep these hostile practices in place. **(32, refugee)**

In this regard, then, dispersal as a form of welcome through admittance is framed as supporting and, therefore, perpetuating the hostile environment. Whilst Suraya was cautious about presenting dispersal as a successful form

of welcome, she also reflected on the support systems which have emerged in response to dispersal as part of helping migrants feel welcomed. Similarly, in my discussions with another key informant Shaun, who is employed as a support worker by a local housing organisation, a clear distinction was drawn between admitting people through dispersal and putting the systems in place to help them secure a sense of welcome.

> The Local Authority agrees to dispersal… they are a partner in that with government… they are working as part of that system. So, you look then at the chain of command and what follows from agreeing to dispersal, to accepting asylum seekers, and I don't know, at a city, a council level, what does follow… they look to civil society for what follows, for the organisation, for the support, for walking the journey and making people feel welcome.

Resonating with Suraya, Shaun questions the extent to which engaging in the process of dispersal can be framed as welcoming. In this comment, Shaun points to a gap between a welcoming narrative resting on 'agreeing to dispersal' and 'what follows'. Here, Shaun's comments echo those of Andrew shared earlier in this chapter, who argued that responsibility for welcoming refugees and asylum seekers fell to the community. Further to this, and in contrast with framing dispersal as welcome through admittance, in pointing to what follows on from admittance, Shaun's comments suggest a need for an approach which goes beyond permitting entry and instead seeks to offer the support, including emotional support, which evokes a feeling of welcome in others.

I would like to note here, that while the responsibility for welcoming asylum seekers was framed as falling onto civil society, my fieldwork did offer insight into the involvement of the council in welcoming asylum seekers beyond 'simply agreeing to dispersal'. Interviews with council officials and key informants, including the police, indicated that while the approach towards supporting asylum seekers is more "hands-off" **(Angela, council officer)** than its approach to other migrants, it does take a lead role in promoting collaboration and communication in part, for example, through the ASRG (the council officers group on asylum seekers and refugees). In my interview with Sarah **(Community Policing Team)**, she spoke about the

ASRG as important for ensuring that there is a forum bringing stakeholders together regularly.

Further to this, and potentially one of the successes of the ASRG, my findings point to a shift in the council's approach towards welcoming asylum seekers. I return to a shifting political climate to close this chapter, so I will not discuss this in great depth here; however, interviews with council officers indicate an emerging infrastructure to support and welcome asylum seekers beyond simple agreeing to dispersal.

> We are a welcoming city. I am confident in that, but, there is a long way to go… part of establishing our credentials as a welcoming city depends on how inclusive we are, how we can meet the needs of everyone in the city, and I mean everyone because we do have a responsibility to people here regardless of their status…and it's that inclusion that's part of the changes you'll see over the next year or so **(Paul, council officer)**.

5.4.2: Controlling the process: welcoming migrants through the Vulnerable Person's Resettlement Scheme

Whilst it was acknowledged that the city council was relatively hands-off in its approach to welcoming migrants arriving through dispersal, my study points to more involvement in the way that welcome is brought about through the Vulnerable Person's Resettlement Scheme. This scheme was announced by the, then, Prime Minister, David Cameron in 2015 intending to resettle 20,000 refugees from Syria by 2020.

> As a council, we responded to David Cameron's request for help resettling Syrian refugees under the resettlement programme. This works very differently to asylum seekers, as an authority responding to this means that we are committed to securing housing, school places, language support and so on, so very much overseeing the whole process to make sure people feel welcome here. **(Councillor, Kensington)**

Resonating with Elenor's experience of welcoming Kosovan refugees in the 1990s, here we can see how the council not only implements an infrastructure of welcome but also maintains control over the process.

Further, in this comment, we can see a distinction being made between the approach towards people seeking asylum and migrants welcomed under this scheme. This comment, then, points to an uneven or hierarchical approach to welcome on behalf of the city council, a theme that emerged in my conversations with informants who worked with people seeking asylum:

> My understanding is that the council, how they respond and welcome migrants to the city is a bit scatty, a bit hit and miss… By that, I think what I mean is that how they respond isn't equal. **(Shaun, Support Worker)**

I would like to note that informants, such as Shaun, acknowledged that these differing responses reflect distinctions between migrants that are embedded in national policy and legislation. However, many also suggested that the council could do more to "even the process out a bit" **(Valerie, 75, ESOL Teacher)** but factors, such as austerity, as captured in the account of Elenor, and the outsourcing of dispersal, as illustrated in the comment below, also play into their decision-making.

> There were good systems in place, and the council was heavily involved in it all… Things changed, I would say very quickly when Serco took over the dispersal stuff…the systems we had in place were bypassed, teams were disbanded, and the council weren't really involved after that… they stepped back from it **(Natalie, housing officer)**

Natalie's comments acknowledge that outsourcing dispersal to Serco effectively bypassed the council. However, her comments about them 'stepping back' suggests that the council decided to limit its involvement in response to being bypassed (Darling, 2016).

Returning to my interviews with city councillors and council officers, the comment shared at the start of this section points to a sense of pride that the council was able to respond to the government's request to help. Alongside the pride that was articulated around becoming involved and

accepting migrants under the scheme, there was also pride in how well the scheme had been implemented in the city, as illustrated in the comment below.

> As far as success stories go, I think about the Syrian resettlement scheme…we are over 90% done with that, and there have been no real issues or tensions. I don't think any other city could do what we have done, with no tensions… **(Angela, Council officer)**

In my interviews, a sense of pride was, as articulated here, tied up in the perception that the scheme had been implemented with no issues or tensions. It must be noted that council officers acknowledged they are unclear about how this scheme plays out 'on the ground', however, given that there had been no noticeable surge in tension or 'major incidents'[24] there was a common perception that the scheme had been implemented smoothly. Also, of note in this comment is the emergence of a narrative that frames the implementation of the scheme and the response to it as something no other city could achieve. It could be argued that this comment reflects the sense of scouse exceptionalism noted in chapter three of this thesis (see Belchem, 2000).

5.4.3 An alternative approach: Community sponsorship

Finally, my fieldwork overlapped with two church groups going through the process of community sponsorship, presenting me with the opportunity to gain insight into a very different approach to welcome. Whilst this is a civil society and community response to welcome, I include this approach here because it is an official government programme reliant on the backing of religious institutions or organisations, such as registered charities and community interest companies. At the time of writing, community sponsorship is a relatively recent development in the UK; however, it is very similar to the more established sponsorship scheme in Canada.

[24] These interviews were conducted before the vandalism of the list over the Summer of 2018

When thinking about the narratives that emerged around community sponsorship, I found that it was commonly framed as ‘an alternative way’ of approaching welcome. I include the comments of Stephen, a vicar whose parish in the Old Swan area of the city had begun working through the process of sponsorship:

> Sponsorship is very different to how the country usually responds to refugees. We have a chance here of being a shining light and showing the government that there are alternatives to the hostile environment.

The juxtaposition of community sponsorship against the backdrop of the hostile environment is central to this framing of sponsorship as an alternative approach to welcome. Stephen’s comments point to sponsorship as opening up the possibility of presenting the government with alternative ways of responding to migrants. In a sense, whilst not necessarily subverting the hostile environment, community sponsorship is framed as a critique of it, as “showing the government that there is a better way, that we can get it right” **(Stephen, vicar Old Swan)**.

As stated, in my interviews with council officers and key informants sponsorship was most commonly framed as an alternative to hostile policies, such as dispersal. However, in my interviews with informants who supported asylum seekers, tensions around the idea of community sponsorship, and the narratives it reinforces, emerged. To illustrate this, I include here an extract from my conversation with Valerie, a volunteer who teaches English to asylum seekers:

> On the one hand, you have refugees, a small number of refugees, who are ‘selected’, and that process affords them certain rights… On the other hand, we have… [people] who come here every day, they haven’t had the fortune to be chosen and, because of that moment, they are granted very little. We’re in a time when the media demonises some migrants, tells us they are not deserving of our support… and I do worry that this kind of approach, if it is elevating one above the other, then I worry it just reinforces that whole idea.

In this comment, we are offered a glimpse at the tension around sponsorship, framed here as playing into, or potentially, reinforcing a

hierarchy which positions migrants as either deserving/undeserving. In contrast to the earlier framing of sponsorship as potentially pushing back against the hostile environment, this example points to sponsorship as potentially playing into, rather than challenging or disrupting, a hostile media discourse around the issue of asylum, refugees and migration in general.

As stated, my fieldwork overlapped with two church groups going through community sponsorship. One of these was in the area of Old Swan, and the other was a church on the border of Woolton and Childwall. Whilst Old Swan is not one of the areas I decided to focus on, I would like to note a difference in the way that community sponsorship was framed across these two areas. In Woolton, an area which is more affluent than both Old Swan[25] and the other areas included in this study, I found that residents and members of the parish framed sponsorship as an opportunity, a chance to contribute and make a difference. This response to community sponsorship contrasted with residents in Old Swan, who shared concerns around the affordability of the scheme, as illustrated in the comments of one of the parishioners below:

> I've been to the meetings. I think it's well-intentioned, but, supporting someone in that way, helping with a house, rent, furniture, I did wonder, is it feasible? **(Yvonne, 51, Old Swan)**

I took the opportunity to discuss community sponsorship with residents across the other areas and found that similar concerns around the cost implications emerged, particularly in the more deprived areas of Anfield and Kensington. Further to this, I found that in affluent areas welcoming refugees and people seeking asylum, whether through community sponsorship or other processes, was framed as an opportunity. However, in the more deprived areas of Anfield and Kensington, whilst most residents spoke about wanting to help migrants feel welcomed, there was a sense of resignation towards it. I include here the comments of Elaine to illustrate this:

[25] Old Swan is currently the 14th most deprived area of the city according to Liverpool's indices of deprivation report. Woolton, the most affluent area in the study, is 28th out of 30, whilst Kensington and Anfield are 3rd and 5th respectively.

> I reckon people round here will have a few things to say about how the area's changed because of asylum seekers. But, that's not their fault, it's part of living somewhere like this; it's not a well-off area, it's cheap. We still try to make them feel welcome, but in some ways, you're just getting on with the way it is living round here. **(41, resident, Kensington)**

Elaine's comments hint at a pragmatic response to welcome and to living in a diversifying area, a theme I will return to in the chapter that follows. Comparing these responses to welcome, the key difference seemingly centres around the perception of choice. In affluent areas, residents were seen to actively choose to welcome, whilst in more deprived areas welcoming refugees and people seeking asylum was seen as part and parcel of living in that area, with residents seen to be resigned to 'getting on with it'.

5.5 Changing landscape: Signs of a new approach to welcome?

> You can't be a part welcome city. There are things we have done and continue to do well. What we need to do now is think about how that applies across the board. **(Phillip - Council representative)**

The preceding sections of this chapter focussed on different forms of a more institutional or formal approach to welcome, as realised through dispersal, sponsorship and resettlement schemes. Whilst each of these forms of welcome offers insight into policies which support welcome they also indicate gaps in provision and a sense that welcome, as captured in the comment above, is not necessarily applied evenly 'across the board'. However, this comment also hints at a change in thinking of the council and a shift towards a more equitable and inclusive approach to welcome. It is this shift, this changing political landscape and how that relates to the positioning of Liverpool as a welcoming city, that I will focus on to close this chapter.

I first became aware of a potential shift in Liverpool's approach towards refugees and asylum seekers whilst I was volunteering during my fieldwork, as my key informants began talking about the development of Liverpool's first refugee strategy. The information they had received about the strategy, alongside key events, such as opening Labre House - a council-

funded homelessness shelter - to asylum seekers with no recourse to public funds, was framed as an indication of a changing political landscape. With regards to Labre House, during a growing homelessness crisis in Liverpool, the Mayor, acknowledging that asylum seekers were a key part in this increase in homelessness, decided to allow them access to the shelter. In my interview with Ethan, a support worker, this was framed as a positive sign that Liverpool was seeking to change its approach towards asylum seekers.

> There are positive signs that the landscape in Liverpool is changing… Labre House and what is happening there is a part of this… this is a signal, a sign of how the city wants to treat people moving forward.

Labre House was, then, presented as indicative of a shift in policy regarding how the council seeks to welcome asylum seekers. In contrast to the perception of the council as 'co-opted' or as partners in dispersal, the decision to open Labre house to people with no recourse to public funds was viewed as a 'bold statement'. I include an extract from my interview with one of the city's Green Party councillors to illustrate this:

> The mayor last year made a statement about wanting to ensure that any rough sleepers or homeless people were dealt with appropriately and given accommodation where possible. And that included refugees, and technically under the legislation, there are difficulties with what Joe was saying – so in a way locally, we're putting ourselves up against the national system, and in a way showing how we can challenge that system and that whole hostile narrative.

In this comment, we can see that in seeking a new approach towards asylum seekers, one which goes beyond agreeing to dispersal, the council has opened up the possibility to work within the system, whilst at the same time challenging some of the features of that system (Bauloz et al., 2020). This idea of taking responsibility based on presence, not status, also appears to underpin the development of the new refugee strategy, Our Liverpool[26], which at the time of writing was nearing its launch. Consider the comment below from a council officer involved with this new strategy,

[26] Launched on 18th June 2019, Arrivals Hall, Cunard Building, Liverpool.

> We now have ready to put in place a strategy that says we know you don't have the rights to these things, but while you are here we have a responsibility to you, and where we can't fulfil a need we will work with partners to ensure it is met.

This comment is indicative of a policy focus on what it means to welcome beyond admittance. With this in mind, when considering how welcome applies to refugees and asylum seekers, the new landscape of welcome that is emerging in Liverpool opens up the possibility for the city to disrupt or push back against the hostile environment.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to explore the ways in which the positioning of Liverpool as welcoming relates to experiences of refugee settlement in the contemporary era. Through the accounts shared, I have shown that there were two distinct ways of framing welcoming. Welcome was, firstly, framed as rooted in the history of the city. Considering how this relates to refugee settlement, my findings point to the ways that participants utilise this narrative to make sense of Liverpool as a city that welcomes refugees, as well as to frame a general disposition of friendliness as 'typical' of those from the city. In this regard, this way of positioning the city as welcoming was seen to underpin experiences and responses to refugee settlement. With regards to the second way of framing welcome, a sense of welcome was found not only to be mediated through encounter but also as fluid and open to disruption.

Whilst both refugees and residents reflected on the absence of institutional forms of welcome, this chapter has offered insight into the role of the council and other institutions in more formalised processes of welcome. This chapter has explored gaps between an official discourse of welcome and the existing policies which seek to welcome refugees and people seeking asylum. However, it has been noted that while the national policy response is becoming increasingly hostile and restrictive, the approach in Liverpool is showing signs of shifting in the opposite direction. Positive

decisions, such as opening up access to Labre House, have been received by organisations as signalling a changing landscape in the city. In terms of thinking about how the positioning of the city as welcoming relates to experiences of refugee settlement, this changing landscape opens up different ways of thinking about welcome, and what that means beyond permitting entry.

In relation to the overall focus of this thesis, which is to explore experiences and responses to the arrival and settlement of refugees in Liverpool, this chapter has considered how narratives of welcome relate to these experiences. Whilst this study explores this question through the lens of everyday multiculture, it must be noted that, rather than understanding multiculture as emerging, residents and other stakeholders view multiculture as layered on top of a longer history of welcome. It is this dimension of multiculture that has been the focus of this chapter. Whilst rooting multiculture into the history of the city, it was widely acknowledged that the spaces where multiculture play out have shifted, opening up new geographies of diversity and encounter. It is to this dimension, the lived multiculture, that I will turn in the following chapter.

Chapter 6: Shared life? Experiences of multiculture in Liverpool

6.1 Introduction

This thesis aims to explore experiences of and responses to refugee settlement in Liverpool. To do so, this study approaches these experiences through an everyday lens. As stated in chapter 2, one of the key concepts applied in this study was everyday multiculture (Wise, 2014). Within this study, everyday multiculture is understood as the reality of living with and negotiating difference in everyday, often routine, spaces. The previous chapter introduced the idea that multiculture is understood as grounded within a longer history of diversity in the city. Leading on from this, the findings in this chapter point to the way that multiculture is understood as something not only rooted in history but as evolving, shifting, and moving into new spaces across the city. Whilst not the sole driver of the diversification of these areas, refugee settlement and the dispersal of asylum seekers were perceived to be the main driver of this diversification. With this in mind, it is the experiences of multiculture, and how it is practiced and negotiated across difference, that will be the focus of this chapter.

As stated, this chapter will focus on exploring experiences of multiculture in Liverpool. In doing so, the chapter aims to contribute to an understanding of the practices of living with difference, and the behaviours and attitudes that underpin them. To address this question, the chapter will, firstly, focus on narratives of multiculture and how participants make sense of multiculture. In line with Neal et al. (2013), multiculture is found to be a socio-spatial dynamic. As will be shown here, participants' experiences of multiculture in spaces of the city that they had not previously associated with encounters with difference, were a key feature in the way in which they experienced the city, and areas within it, as changing. Having explored the ways that participants made sense of multiculture, the chapter will go on to focus on experiences of multiculture in everyday, routine spaces. In doing so, the chapter will offer insight into the markers of multiculture and diversity

noted by participants as indicative of the way these spaces are changing. Further, this chapter will explore responses to encounters, observing and shedding light on underlying practices and behaviours.

6.2 A shifting multiculture

This chapter explores experiences of multiculture in Liverpool, drawing out the practices and strategies that underpin it. Addressing this question, this chapter begins with a focus on how participants understood and made sense of multiculture. In line with experiences across Britain (see Neal et al., 2013), multiculture in Liverpool has become increasingly complex. This is, in part, due to diversification and the movement of diversity into new geographies across the city. While not the sole driver of this diversification, refugee settlement and, in particular the dispersal of asylum seekers, is playing a part in the way the city is currently experiencing diversity (see Pemberton, 2017b). With regards to the settlement of refugees and asylum seekers in Liverpool, the dispersal of asylum seekers into areas with lower rents and higher availability of housing stock, as noted in chapter 3, is helping to drive diversification into areas that have previously had little experience of diversity. Consistent with the findings of Neal et al. (2013), the shifting of diversity away from spaces typically associated with migration and settlement has resulted in new geographies of multiculture opening up across the city.

Despite the emergence of these geographies of multiculture, it is important to note that for established residents, multiculture was not framed as new or emerging. Carole spoke about Liverpool's multiculture as part of the history of the city.

> Liverpool is multicultural. There's a long history of different cultures and different people… But, the way that… happened here is sad… we have this history, and yet we ended up with people being segregated. Despite being multicultural in one sense, the reality was very different… we just ended up with a black ghetto… I can see that changing… you can kind of sense that segregation going, and that's a good thing. **(59, resident, Woolton)**

In her comments, Carole speaks of multiculture not as something new or emerging but as part of the history of the city. Here, Carole reflects on how multiculture played out in the past. Comments about this history being 'sad' point not only to the ethnic segregation which saw Liverpool's Black community effectively 'contained' within the Toxteth area but also, as discussed in chapter 3, a history of racial discrimination and tension, most commonly known for culminating in the Toxteth Riots in 1981 (see also, Belchem, 1999; Frost and Phillips, 2012). Of note in Carole's comments is her observation that this pattern of segregation is starting to change, an observation that was common in interviews with established residents. Take for consideration the account of Andrew, who also observes this shift.

> It's changing, it's diversifying… You go into areas and seeing ethnic… a good ethnic mix and you didn't see that, you didn't in the 60s and 70s when I was growing up… People moving on, moving out and moving up. So, this segregation has gone fuzzy round the edges**. (63, resident, Norris Green)**

Similar to Carole, Andrew's comments point to diversification as causing these patterns of segregation to shift. Thus, for established residents, multiculture is framed as evolving and as moving away from spaces previously associated with it.

6.2.1 Contact Zones: The spatial dimension of multiculture

The findings presented in the preceding section point to the role of diversification in causing previous patterns of settlement, and multiculture, to shift, opening new spaces of difference and encounter. These experiences are consistent with the findings of Neal et al. (2013), who argue that one consequence of the dispersal of diversity is that new geographies of multiculture open up. These geographies are best articulated through the concept of contact zones (Wise, 2007; Wiseman, 2017).

In this study, contact zones are conceptualised as the spaces in which difference and diversity are experienced, and subsequently negotiated. For the participants in this study, experiences of difference and diversity within

such contact zones, encompassed more than encounters with people that they saw as ‘different’. Rather, encountering diversity was also associated with encountering an increasingly diverse environment (see photograph 6, below). To illustrate this, I include here the comments of two Anfield residents, Ashleigh and Reza.

> Liverpool is diverse. I think it is. I mean, if you are in town then there is obviously a mix of different people… I live in Anfield, and it’s not as mixed as town, but it’s getting more diverse… since I left school, I notice that more. Not just the people but the area itself... The paper shop has leaflets in, in different languages. That’s what I notice anyway, how little things like, like a sign in a different language, or there’s a Polish shop. Them things make me feel like the area is becoming more diverse **(Ashleigh, 20, resident, Anfield).**

And also,

> When I come to Anfield, I spend first six months with home here but sleeping on my friends’ sofa in Wavertree. Anfield was not like I see it now. I feel different when I came first. Everything was English, the people and the shops... In my friends it was not like this, I go for a walk and I see different languages, different shops… Not all the time Iranian, but Asian, African and I feel like here I am not so different. Last year, maybe this is changed. I stay here in my house in Anfield now. I see more that the area is changing, more shops for people like me. (**Reza, 20, asylum seeker, Anfield)**

Of note in Reza’s comment is the emphasis on how he felt ‘different’ when he first moved into the Anfield area, particularly when compared to his experience in Wavertree. One feature of this experience of difference was the lack of visible diversity in Anfield when he first arrived. Thus, as suggested by Wessendorf (2019: 142), visible difference is one factor “which shapes whether migrants feel like they fit into an area or not”. Further, Reza’s comments point to the importance of the physical environment in shaping a sense of place (Rishbeth and Powell, 2013). As an example, Reza recalled travelling to the south end of the city to have his hair styled because he did not feel comfortable going to the local barbershop, which was adorned with photographs of white males. As Anfield has begun to diversify, whilst

still predominantly white, for Reza the area is starting to reflect a more diverse population, both with regards to visible difference and the physical environment, and this has had an impact on his sense of belonging within the area (Vathi and Burrell, 2020).

The accounts of Ashleigh and Reza suggest that markers of diversity are a key aspect of placemaking. Examples of this observed in the current study included: migrant-led placemaking, for example, in the opening up of ethnic businesses; community attempts to make a place which reflects a more diverse population, such as the local newsagents having multilingual leaflets; and top-down, council-led placemaking found, for example, through the development of a multilingual environment.

Photograph 6: An increasingly multilingual environment. S. Carney. June, 2018.

Further, the experiences of Ashleigh and Reza illustrate the connections that are made between increasing encounters with difference in local everyday spaces and a sense that the area is changing. These comments point to the experience of diversification as potentially disrupting ideas about the neighbourhood, particularly regarding the types of encounter

and experiences of difference that had previously been associated with an area.

6.2.2 Encountering difference, disrupting the familiar

Thus far, the findings presented in this chapter have given insight into experiences of diversification in Liverpool. As stated, as Liverpool has diversified, the geographies of multiculture have shifted. In turn, as new contact zones have opened up, participants' increasingly describe their sense of place, specifically concerning the encounters they would associate with a given area, as having been disrupted. Chapter 2 of this thesis introduced the concept of familiarity, specifically as it relates to a person's sense of place or locality. This discussion centred on the idea that the local is made up of networks of familiarity. In this regard, our sense of locality is made up of what is familiar, and of the associations made between people, places, senses, and experiences (Hall, 2012).

Familiarity and routine can give a sense of the local area as fixed or settled (Butcher, 2019), giving rise to what Blokland and Nast (2014) conceptualise as 'comfort zones'. In this sense, the familiar can be a source of comfort in a city that is seemingly changing rapidly. In the current study, the shifting of multiculture into new areas across the city has disrupted notions of what was familiar or associated with a specific area. The concept of familiarity, then, can be seen as important to the way multiculture is experienced and negotiated in Liverpool.

According to Hall (2012), as a place diversifies, residents draw on notions of what was familiar to make sense of, and adapt to, the changes they are experiencing. In the current study, the way participants draw on the history of the city and their own experiences of living in the city resonates with this idea. Providing further illustration of this, I share here contrasting accounts of two residents of the same street in the Greenbank area of the city: Elenor, who migrated to Liverpool from Scotland in the 1980s and James**,** who was born in Liverpool, moved to Australia for work in 2012 and returned in 2017.

> I have noticed a difference since I came here. When I came here, Black people were only in Granby and you didn't see Black people in town at all. And I'd notice, if I went to London, I'd go and then come back and be thinking where are all the Black people? And I think that is changing, not just with refugees, but in general, things are loosening up for everybody… I think it definitely feels more multicultural, more vibrant. The culture is changing, you go out and you can sense this changing culture. There are 'no-alcohol' bars, the Asda sells different world goods, it's not just in that one place anymore… My son left Liverpool a good while ago… he will often say to me that Liverpool is terribly 'white', and I… I guess I would have agreed with him, but it doesn't feel like that now. **(Elenor, 63, resident, Greenbank)**

Compare this to the experience of James:

> My mum lives in Bootle, and I grew up there and it was ok, a bit rough, but you know a real community. Everyone knew everyone. All the Ma's would take turns watching the kids play out. A tight-knit community, I guess. Now round there has changed something rotten[27], it's gone like Tokky.[28] I mean it, it really has. It's 'spot the white man' down there now; it's like Tokky. Like every other house is foreigners, the schools are foreigners, but they hardly speak English… It's not good. There's no real community now. (**James, 38, resident, Greenbank)**

While these accounts are contrasting in tone, there are commonalities between them, particularly regarding the way that the dispersal of diversity (Neal et al., 2013) has changed their ideas about the city and local areas within it. These accounts point to the way that this shifting multiculture can disrupt a sense of place and familiarity. The way Elenor and James make sense of and frame their narratives of change gives insight into the contrasting and varied responses to multiculture in Liverpool, which will be explored further in the sections that follow. For Elenor, this shifting geography of multiculture is framed in a positive light. It is helping the city to 'loosen up', with new opportunities to encounter difference opening up outside of the Granby area. In the comments of James, we can see how the

[27] Changing 'something rotten' denotes a stark change for the worse.

[28] Tokky is local slang for the area Toxteth.

familiar is used to make sense of these changes. However, James' narrative reveals his discomfort towards change, with a focus on connecting diversification with a loss of community. James' comment is consistent with the idea that the familiar can be comforting (Butcher, 2019), and when that sense of familiarity is disrupted, it can give rise to tension. Whilst the accounts shared here point to two contrasting responses, it must be noted that the findings of this study do not suggest a neat division between positive or negative experiences of multiculture. Rather, responses are more nuanced and, at times, contradictory, shedding more light on the 'messiness' of living with difference (Wiseman, 2019).

Before moving on to explore experiences and responses to multiculture in more depth, I wish to offer some thought on the differences in the experiences of James and Elenor. Firstly, note the differences in their personal histories of migration into and out of Liverpool. Whilst James is native to the city and has only spent 5 years living elsewhere, Elenor, who moved to Liverpool in her thirties, has lived in the same area of the city for the past 30 years. James commented on his experience of moving back to Liverpool, explaining that when he went away, it was as he remembers it.

> The same families lived in me Ma's street as when I was little, the north end was mostly locals, and the south was more mixed. By the time I moved back, it was all different.

For James, these changes happened whilst he was away, and he is still adapting and "trying to get me head round it", while Elenor lived through and experienced this diversification unfolding. Whilst limited to comparisons between a small number of participants, it could be suggested that time is important when making sense of diversification and disrupted notions of the familiar. In this example, Elenor has had longer to adapt and reconfigure her sense of place, whereas James has moved back to a city he thought he knew well, to find that it has changed.

Secondly, I would like to note the spatial differences in these accounts. In James' comments about his experiences of diversification, we can see how he is reflecting on the diversification of the area of his

childhood. In comparison, Elenor largely spoke about the city centre and the opportunities to encounter and experience difference that have opened up there.

6.2.3 Differing degrees of disruption

The preceding section introduced the idea that as the spaces of diversity have shifted, fixed notions of place, resting on familiarity and routine, have been disrupted. The accounts of Elenor and James, shared in the preceding section, point to the way that the shifting geography of multiculture, and the way it disrupts notions of the familiar, are seemingly experienced more acutely, producing more emotive responses, at the neighbourhood level than at the city level. Exploring this further, this section will compare experiences of encountering difference in the city centre with experiences within more localised 'contact zones' at the neighbourhood level.

As stated earlier in this chapter, for the participants in this study, one of the key indicators that their local area was becoming more diverse was through local markers of diversity, such as multilingual signage and ethnic enterprise. With regards to the city centre, it was common to note the different types of businesses and the different cultures that they reflect. Consider the comments of Louise as she made sense of her experience of multiculture in the city centre.

> Town[29], everything that has come with Capital of Culture, with Liverpool One, it's changed the city. I mean there's all these foreign shops and restaurants. There's some beautiful ones down Bold Street, all decorated like nothing from here, you go into some and it's like you're in a whole 'nother place. **(63, resident, Norris Green)**

Louise's comments illustrate the way that participants noted the increasing 'diversity' on offer through the businesses opening up in the city centre. In our conversation, Louise framed this experience of diversification as beneficial for the city.

[29] Used to refer to the city centre

> It can only be a good thing, can't it. I mean, we're a world city, and now it really feels like that. It's not just China Town and a few Indians scattered round; it feels different, and that's got to help bring people in.

Note how, in these comments, Louise associates these changes with bringing people into the city; thus, diversification is viewed as beneficial to the city, driving tourism and increasing revenue. This idea that diversification is driven by tourism was common amongst residents who had lived in the city before ECOC. Although outside the main focus of this thesis, I would like to note that whilst this diversification was seen as overwhelmingly beneficial for the city, this was experienced alongside a sense that the city centre felt like a place for tourists, not locals. This was also accompanied by a sense that the town centre no longer felt like Liverpool; rather, it had become "bland and placeless" **(Anika, 32, resident, Woolton)**.

When thinking about diversification in the city centre, the majority of participants framed this as positive and associated with regeneration and growth. However, at the neighbourhood level, similar changes and experiences were not always framed in this way. To illustrate, I return to my interview with Louise.

> Me sister lives in Kenny[30]. All's you see down there is foreign shops. There's a Muslim café… We was talking about it, and even me sister says nobody round there wants things like that. Mark my words it'll be like that round here in a few years, now we have asylum seekers moving in… You mark my words. Now they're coming there'll be all foreign shops. There's already a shop for the Polish! **(63, resident, Norris Green)**

Louise's comments reveal very different experiences of diversification when thinking about the city centre compared to neighbourhoods outside of it. When I asked Louise about these contrasting experiences, she offered the following explanation.

> I'm not against immigrants, I've been an immigrant. But Kenny isn't the town centre, its shops for locals to do their messages, shops that used to be ran by locals. Liverpool is English, and these shops should be as well, people

[30] Kensington

> are choosing to move into these areas, why should the area change for them?

Louise's comments reveal a discomfort towards the diversification of neighbourhoods, a discomfort which contrasts with her response to the diversification of the city centre. These comments point to a differentiation between the city centre and the spaces Louise would go on to call the 'ordinary communities'. It could be, that where Louise 'engages' with difference in the city centre it is from a distance as a consumer, while it is harder for her to maintain that 'distance' when these changes occur in familiar, everyday spaces.

Also of note is Louise's focus on the agency of asylum seekers in the process of diversification. In her comments on diversification in the city centre, Louise pointed to tourism, and a bid to attract visitors, as drivers of diversification and change. Yet here, when considering similar changes in the local area, the driver of this change is the settlement of asylum seekers into these areas. The idea that it is migrants who drive diversification, whether viewed positively or negatively, was common across all stakeholder groups when thinking about diversification at the local level. To illustrate this further, from a different perspective, I include the account of Sasha, a refugee from Cameroon who recently moved from Kensington to Norris Green.

> As people like me move around the city, into new places like I did… I moved here because my daughter got put into [school] and I came here to be nearer to her school. As more people move into these places, you do see them change… you start to see new businesses open, new services and groups. **(35, refugee, Norris Green)**

Sasha's comments resonate with those of Reza, shared earlier in this chapter, pointing to changes in the physical environment as migrants attempt to create a sense of place. Whilst Sasha spoke about these changes as crucial to refugees' sense of place and belonging in predominantly white neighbourhoods, she offered her thoughts on why there may be some discomfort and resistance to change.

> Some people don't like it… There will always be people who are not happy. I understand that. This place has been the same way for a long time, the same people, families who knew each other…and now that is not the same.

This section has focused on the extent to which diversification is experienced differently at the city level when compared to the neighbourhood level. As the comments here show, encountering difference in everyday contact zones, produced more contrasting and, at times, emotive responses, than encounters in the city centre. It is to these everyday contact zones that this chapter will now turn. The sections which follow will explore and give insight into experiences and responses to multiculture in Liverpool focussing on the three most commonly discussed everyday contact zones in this study; *the high street, the school, and the 'neighbourhood'.*

6.3 Everyday geographies of encounter

6.3.1 The local high street: An everyday space of encounter and avoidance

Across all of my interviews, the most commonly identified space of encounter was the local high street. As has been noted, when considering the ordinary high street as a contact zone, participants included encounters with a diverse, or diversifying, environment alongside encounters with people across difference. Returning to the accounts of Amelia and Reza, you will recall that their understanding that Anfield was becoming more diverse rested on changes to the local high street, such as ethnic enterprises. When thinking about signs that an area is diversifying, encounters with these markers of diversity were framed by participants as indicative that the area is changing, and that this change was linked to a shift, or turnover, in the demographics of the local population. This was especially true of an area like Anfield, which is used to hosting visitors from different areas due to the location of the football stadium, as captured in the account of Paul**.**

> We're used to all manner of people round here, it's part of parcel of living by the stadium. On any day of the week, whether there's a match or not, we're

> used to loads of Chinese, Scandies[31], fellas in turbans… They mill in and around the ground mostly, but they spill out into the pubs, the cafes… you get used to hearing different accents. **(58, resident, Anfield)**

In my conversation with Paul, which I return to later in this chapter, he would go on to express a sense of frustration and loss in relation to his experience of ethnic businesses in Anfield. Whilst Paul was familiar and comfortable with the occasional diversity of what he called the "Day-trippers to Anfield", he displayed discomfort at the diversity he encountered through ethnic businesses and a more multilingual environment that were, for Paul, indications of diversity as a lived feature of the local area, and as a sign of how 'run-down' Anfield has become.

With regards to thinking about how people made sense of these changes, the way that the local high street is changing was largely considered as positive. Graeme, for example, reflected on the changing culture of his area.

> I think it's good; it's changing the culture in a good way. Look at the different businesses you can see when you walk down Smithdown Road, all these family businesses bringing a small part of a different culture to the road, like all of those shisha bars… oh, and there is a great Eritrean restaurant too. **(69, resident, Greenbank)**

For Graeme, the changes he experiences in terms of a local high street which reflects an increasingly diverse local population, are framed as beneficial. Graeme's experiences resonate with those of his fellow Greenbank resident, Elenor, who associated diversification with the city becoming more vibrant. However, with regards to the perceived benefits of these businesses, the findings of this study point to a difference in the experiences of participants in more affluent areas when compared to areas with more deprivation. With regards to the more affluent areas in this study, Woolton and Greenbank, ethnic businesses opening up on the local high street were viewed as contributing to a vibrant local culture. In areas like Kensington, Anfield and Norris Green, similar markers of diversification were

[31] Used to refer to fans from Scandinavian countries.

viewed as beneficial in as much as they contributed towards the regeneration of the local high street. In the words of Simon, ethnic businesses have resulted in *"*less shops being closed and tinned-up day and night" **(62, resident, Anfield).**

I would like to return here to the account of Louise, shared earlier in this chapter. Louise's response to diversification in Kensington offers a contrast to the accounts shared above. In our conversations, Louise also spoke about regeneration and, similar to Simon, expressed concern about the number of shops closed and the visual impact of shops with shutters down. However, while Louise was keen to see a push for the regeneration of local high streets in the north of the city, the opening of ethnic businesses, which she believes are a consequence of asylum seekers settling in these areas, was seen as indicative of the area being "run-down". Whilst this response occurred in a small number of interviews, it was more common amongst Liverpool-born residents in Anfield and Norris Green, particularly those in my sample who were older than 50.

Offering further insight, I include here photographs and comments from Paul, who has lived in the Anfield area for 40 years. Paul spoke about how he feels the area has changed, particularly in the past couple of years. For Paul, the key driver of this change is diversification and *"*the council dumping 'so-called refugees' wherever they…want to". The photographs included below were taken by Paul as he walked me to a bus stop after our interview. In our conversation, Paul had spoken about his feelings that the area is being purposefully run down by the council. As we passed these signs, he laughed and pointed them out to me. The comments below, are taken from a brief conversation we had at the bus stop, when I asked him to tell me about these signs, and why he had wanted to point them out to me.

Photographs 7 and 8: A Brighter Anfield. Taken by Paul, July 2018

> I've lived here all my life, and all's we see and hear is regeneration, but what does that mean? Walk down Breck road and yeah there's new shops, but its shops for asylum seekers. It's Polish shops, Romanians… not what we had, not like an English butchers, a fruit and veg shop, a fish shop. We had local shops, local businesses. Is this regeneration? I don't think it is; the area's gone downhill, and these are a sign of that. **(Paul, 58, resident, Anfield)**

In his comments, Paul does note that new businesses have opened up in the area; however, this is not the type of regeneration he was hoping for. Paul's response to these businesses resonates with the sense of loss captured in the comments of James, shared earlier in this chapter. Consistent with the findings of Watson (2017), these accounts add further empirical insight to the notion that regeneration, experienced here through ethnic enterprise, can be a source of tension and vulnerability in the way residents experience and negotiate multiculture.

Connected to this, in both Anfield and Kensington, my attention was drawn to businesses ran by Liverpool-born residents that were being specifically marketed as English and ran by 'locals'. For Louise, who showed me one such example of a Facebook advertisement for a barbershop in Kensington, businesses like these are needed because it saves 'locals' the "trouble of going into a shop where they all speak their own friggen lingo".

Following this conversation with Louise, I visited several businesses promoting their 'Englishness' in their online advertising. Brian, the owner of a café, spoke to me about why he thinks this type of marketing works for him.

> I think it brings in the customers, local ones anyway. There's lots of foreign businesses. Locals can come in here and know they're not getting that, they know that when they order something, it's going to be what they expect. I think… I know they trust us more because they know we're locals. They know we're clean, they know we get rid of the rubbish properly and not just dump it and shit the area up.

Brian's comments are illustrative of the conversations I had with similar business owners, as well as some of their customers, indicating a sense that a business ran by a 'local' is more trustworthy than the ethnic enterprises that have recently opened. This trustworthiness, as captured here, is articulated not only around a common cultural identity and language but also around concerns about cleanliness. In my conversation with Brian – as well as other residents I spoke to – this positioning of migrants and ethnic enterprises as 'dirty' was largely articulated in relation to increasing concerns around refuse disposal. Here, the growing migrant population was framed as either not following or not understanding refuse collection arrangements and were, subsequently, viewed as contributing to problems with rubbish and rats. Whilst emerging from a local concern around the physical environment, Brian's comments offer insight into the way that racist slurs and rhetoric about 'dirty immigrants' can filter down into the everyday (see, for example, O'Neil, 2018) shaping strategies of avoidance.

Adding additional insight to the tensions around ethnic enterprise, through my conversations with business owners around Anfield, I became aware of a confrontation between the (presumed) owner of a Turkish barbershop and local residents, apparently provoked by the use of 'British' in the shop's name. The general understanding of the business owners I spoke to was that the owner of the barbers was deceitfully claiming Britishness to attract custom. On visiting the barbers myself, I noted that the signage had been changed to read simply 'Barber Shop'. I would like to note that the

owner or staff of the shop did not wish to talk to me; therefore, the accounts I have of this incident came only from 'local' business owners.

6.3.2 The school: spaces of care and concern

> Before I moved here, I came to visit a friend; she lived by Windsor Street. I was here two weeks. I remember waking up, and my bedroom window was open, it must have been about 9. I could hear children going to school. They were walking down the street… I could hear different voices, different accents all mixing together… It made me feel hopeful, made me feel this is a good place for me and my son. (**Grace, 28. refugee, Greenbank)**

The preceding section presented findings relating to the high street as an everyday contact zone, shedding light on the way that participants experience and respond to encounters with difference in these spaces. Following this, this section will focus on the school as a space of encounter. When thinking about how participants experienced and observed multiculture in and around the school, the most common markers of multiculture related to visible difference and language. The account of Anika, who moved to Liverpool from Sweden in 2012, is illustrative of this:

> I guess I notice it at school when I drop the children off and we have to wait on the playground. I think this is an area that has always had migrants, but if you look around the yard, the parents are mostly people like me. I would say that is something I notice more that the parents are from a more diverse background. **(34, resident, Woolton)**

Here, Anika is talking about how she had previously associated the spaces around the school with 'people like her'. When I asked what she meant by this, she explained that while there are other parents at the school who, like her are migrants, they were predominantly white migrants, whereas she is becoming more aware of migrants from diverse ethnic backgrounds. For

Anika, this shift in the school population, was indicative of the wider area becoming increasingly diverse. In addition to visible difference, language and a multilingual environment were also seen as indicative of the school, and, consequently, the wider area becoming more diverse.

> Well, you can't miss the fact the school has got more mixed. In the leavers' assembly, [head teacher] couldn't pronounce all the names, and the programme had little bits in other languages in. **(Simon, 62, resident, Anfield)**

As stated, encounters with difference around the local school were viewed as a marker that the area, in general, was diversifying. The majority of those that spoke about their local school as being, or becoming, more diverse, framed this in a positive light. For these participants, experiencing diversity and multiculture at school was seen as something beneficial, opening up opportunities that some of my participants felt they never had in their education. As an example of this, I include here the account of Marie:

> The city has a history of being multicultural, but for a long time, you only saw that in a very small area. Growing up in North Liverpool, I didn't see that. I believed this was a multicultural city because of the history, the stories we're told. But I didn't know any Black people growing up, the only Chinese people I knew of worked in the chippy. And that's changing now… My kids are in a city that actually feels multicultural. They will get to experience what being multicultural really means. They go to school with kids from all over, what an opportunity that is, it can only be a good thing, give them a broader view of the world than the one I had. **(42, resident, Norris Green)**

Marie's comments illustrate a tendency to make sense of diversification through comparisons with personal experiences of growing up and attending school in Liverpool. Marie spoke about what she identified as the city becoming "more mixed in", noting how one of the ways that she notices this is through her experiences at her children's school. That her children are experiencing this diversity in school, was something Marie believed would be beneficial to them, helping them develop a more broad worldview. Here, then, Marie is seeing diversity as a source of social capital.

Across my interviews, where the school was framed as a routine space of encounter, it was more common for participants to frame this in relation to their children. In this sense, participants would largely discuss the school as a site where their children negotiate difference, and, as in the case of Marie above, where they benefit from these experiences. Alongside a broader worldview, other such benefits focused on language and multilingualism. Alejandra spoke to me about her children's experiences of 'sharing' language.

> My child is in school now. She loves it… She comes home and talks to me about her friends, she has lots of Liverpool friends but others too, she has a friend who is Polish, I think some from Africa. They teach each other words, so she teaches them to say in Spanish. They teach in English or Polish. She comes home saying all of these words. **(27, asylum seeker, Norris Green)**

Alejandra's comments are indicative of how the school was framed as a site of indirect contact (see Brown and Paterson, 2016), that is, Alejandra is seen to experience the multiculture of the school through the encounters and negotiations of her daughter. Also of note in Alejandra's comments is the exchange of language in her daughter's friendship group. This experience resonates with the idea that schools foster and facilitate the opening of spaces of exchange and care across difference (Wise and Noble, 2016).

Whilst the comments of Alejandra point to her positive indirect encounters with difference, facilitated through the way her daughter talks to her about her friends and shares with her different words from their respective languages, for some participants language was highlighted as a potential cause for concern. Earlier in this chapter, I noted that responses to refugee settlement and diversification did not fit neatly into positive or negative but were more nuanced. The issue of multilingualism, in this case, in the classroom, is one such area that illustrates this. In my conversation with Elaine, she framed exposure to different languages in school as beneficial for her children. However, having attended a parents' meeting in the school, she also raised concerns about the potential negative impact of her child attending a diverse, multilingual school.

SC: Do you think that schools play an important role in an area like this, an area which is becoming more diverse?
Elaine: Yeah. Yeah, schools play a big role that then has to be reinforced at home. But, when you think about the job the school is doing, it must be hard to manage. I went to a meeting in the school, to find out about a trip, and it was a bit awkward… A lot of the parents are foreign, and some don't speak much English…everything took so much longer; they needed more attention… I had questions but never even got them answered because we ran out of time. So yeah, it's good that they get to experiences that, but it does make me question if you have a class that has refugee kids in, and they have no English, does that stop my kid getting the attention they need? **(41, resident, Kensington).**

The comments of Elaine point to concerns over resources, in this case, the time and attention of a teacher and the impact on the budget of the school. Whilst Alejandra's experience of multiculture in the space of the school was indirect, Elaine's concerns arose following her own experiences in the school meeting. Whilst the chapter which follows explores concerns and tensions in more depth, at this point I would like to note that while concerns over the availability of resources were raised across all areas of this study, they were more prevalent amongst participants in the more deprived areas of Anfield, Kensington and Norris Green.

As stated, whilst the majority of participants framed encounters with difference in and around local schools as positive, there was a small minority whose experiences contrasted with this. I include here the account of Andrew, who recalled his experience of driving past a local high school around home time.

I was driving down Queens Drive the other day and I drive past [girls secondary school] and, now I have been driving past that school for years, you expect to see a mix of all sorts, redheads, blondes, you know. But, at the bus stop, there were only young Muslim girls. They had the what's it 'nijab', the scarf thing… but there were no other kids at that bus stop, none, no blondes, no gingers… Is that these kids excluding themselves? It was very visible. Lots of people are seeing this. I don't know, do they see it how I see it? Do they look and see a group that appears to be segregating itself? I

> mean, where are the other kids, or is [school] that way now, like mostly Muslim now, is the area changing that much, is that how it's going to go? Does that mean Noggsy[32] will end up that way, too? **(63, resident, Norris Green).**

In his comments, Andrew is questioning the extent to which the demographics of the specific group he observed near a local school, reflects the extent to which the area around the school has changed. This comment points to a trend that emerged in a small number of interviews where participants suggested that increasing diversity was indicative of the local population 'turning over' from white 'local' families to newcomers with a different ethnic background. Also of note, where Andrew asks, 'Is that how it's going to go?', we see how he is questioning the extent to which the diversity he is observing is indicative of the future of the area. Here, Andrew's comments illustrate an apprehensive tendency of participants who reside in areas which are less diverse, like Norris Green, to look at diversification in other areas as a marker for the future of their neighbourhood.

With regards to the way that experiences of multiculture in school were negotiated, it was common for these experiences to be convivial with the potential for opening up friendships and spaces of care. However, for a small number of participants, the way multiculture was negotiated differed. For Elaine, whilst she did not respond or follow up on her concerns publicly, she did go on to say that she "wasn't happy, but got on with it", suggesting her responses to multiculture were pragmatic. Further, there was a minority who sought to withdraw and avoid these encounters. The practice of avoidance is illustrated through the experience of James, who moved his children out of their local primary school and placed them in a school over two miles away. Explaining this decision, James told me the school was,

> Full of foreigners and refugees, the behaviour is appalling, but the teachers wouldn't say anything because they don't want to offend them. The new school is better, mostly local kids so you know if there's a problem you can sort it. **(38, resident, Greenbank)**

[32] Refers to Norris Green

6.3.3 The neighbourhood: transience and loss

Having explored experiences of multiculture in the spaces of the local high street and school, it is to the 'neighbourhood' that this chapter will now turn. While it is hard to pin down what is meant by the term 'neighbourhood', in the context of this study it was used loosely by participants, either in reference to their street or a small area around their street. When thinking about spaces where participants felt they are more likely to encounter difference, whilst not as commonly mentioned as the spaces discussed above, experiences of multiculture in the neighbourhood seemingly triggered more emotive responses.

With regards to markers of diversification, the majority of participants associated diversity in their street, or neighbourhood, with the ethnicity or language of their neighbours. The comments of Ashleigh illustrate this:

> New people are moving in all the time, but you get more and more that they aren't locals. So, there's more Asian families. There's a lady in my street who wears one of them veils. More often than not, when a neighbour moves out, you know it won't be a local that's moving in. I'm not saying you don't get scousers who are Asian, but you hear them speaking their own language and then you know they're not scousers. **(20, resident, Anfield)**

In this account of her street, where Ashleigh says that people are moving in all the time, she points to the transience of the street - a theme which was a feature in four of the areas of this study, namely, Greenbank, Anfield, Kensington, and Norris Green. In these areas, having a local population that turns over relatively quickly was largely presented as commonplace. In Greenbank, this transience was associated with the student population, rather than the asylum seekers who are accommodated in the local Serco initial accommodation centres, while in Anfield and Kensington, and to a lesser extent Norris Green, transience was associated with asylum seekers, low rents and "dodgy landlords" **(Paul, 58, resident, Anfield)**. As stated, I found that where participants spoke about residents that they presumed were asylum seekers, they included neighbours who were of a different

ethnic background who spoke a different language, including newly arrived Eastern Europeans.

Across all of these areas, where a transient population was a feature of their experiences of multiculture, this experience was accompanied by concerns and tension. The concerns that were raised varied, more often than not, based on who had moved into the area. With regards to this, I found that when the 'new neighbours' were a family or a single woman, concerns centred mostly on language differences as a barrier to building a sense of community. In the case of new neighbours who were male, or, in the case of Houses of Multiple Occupancy (HMOs), groups of males, concerns raised focussed more on a sense of threat.

> I have a neighbour just moved in, an asylum seeker, she is nice. Quiet. But my mate was saying her nana has a group of fellas living next door, like 7 Asian men in one of them terraces. That's difficult, I mean, they might not be up to no good, but I would definitely be worried if 7 Asian fellas rocked up next door. **(Alicia, 23, resident, Greenbank)**

Alicia's account illustrates the concerns that are raised when a house in the street is converted into an HMO. My discussions with organisations, such as New Start Housing, and the Community Policing Team confirmed to me that concerns over shared houses with male occupants are common in areas where asylum seekers are being dispersed. Regarding residents responses to these concerns, the vast majority said they 'get on with it', pointing again to the way that responses to multiculture can be pragmatic. Further, many participants who expressed these concerns also spoke about not wanting to ask questions of landlords or the council because they feared being labelled as racist.

Alongside the concerns that 'new neighbours' can provoke, the transience experienced in these areas was also associated with a loss of community. For the majority, including migrants living in these areas, the loss of community rested more on the suggestion that when a population turns over quickly, it can be hard to build relationships. However, for a minority, these experiences of loss were also tied up in a perception that the 'local' population was being replaced. Returning to the experiences of James, his

experience of returning to Bootle after 5 years away to find that the neighbours who all knew each other had moved out, is one such example of this sense of loss and perception of replacement.

6.4 Practices of lived multiculture

Photograph 9: Merseyside Together. Taken by Sahir, September 2018.

6.4.1 Convivial multiculture

In the preceding chapter, when thinking about experiences of welcome in Liverpool, the most common signs of welcome experienced by refugees in my sample were everyday convivial gestures, such as a smile. Similarly, when thinking about the practice of multiculture and how this is experienced, conviviality emerged as a practice underpinning multiculture in Liverpool. Chapter 2 notes that conviviality is a widely used and contested term (see, for example, Amin, 2012; Valluvan, 2016; Wise and Noble, 2016). Whilst the so-called convivial turn has been criticised as celebratory for suggesting that fleeting encounters are indicative of respect for difference, the findings here contribute to our understanding of conviviality as more complex. Rather than suggesting conviviality is simply the practice of happily sharing space across difference, the findings of this study point to underlying tensions, as will be

discussed in the chapter which follows, and suggest that convivial behaviours are, often, pragmatic.

Starting firstly with the way that conviviality is experienced in Liverpool, most participants associated this with an easy-going disposition and an openness to others indicated by convivial gestures, such as a smile. Consider here the account of Maureen, a care worker from Norris Green:

> I think, for someone moving here, asylum seekers or whatever... I know they would be ok that they wouldn't be on their own here. They would have scousers there with them. They would always find a smile, a friendly face to make them feel they are ok, to help them through. **(61, resident, Norris Green)**

Maureen's comments illustrate the everyday gestures of conviviality, for example, the smile and the friendly face. Also of note, where Maureen talks about convivial gestures as letting asylum seekers know that they are not alone, we can see a suggestion that convivial gestures can be an expression of solidarity. Similarly, in my conversation with Sahir, convivial gestures were understood as a sign of openness.

> Anfield is better. Here people are saying hello and hi. They try to get to know me and my family, sometimes this is hard when my English was not too good, but we get there. In Tuebrook, this was very different, all people with head down, no looking, no smile or hello, hi. I felt very lonely here. It was hard to get to know people. **(53, asylum seeker, Anfield)**

Sahir's experiences in Tuebrook resonate with Maureen's understanding that convivial gestures could help a newcomer feel that they are not alone. For Sahir, these gestures are part of the process of getting to know people. In Tuebrook, where Sahir experienced a lack of conviviality amongst his neighbours, he found it hard to engage and begin to build relationships. Also of note in Sahir's account is his experience of convivial striving, illustrated here in his comments about his neighbours working hard to negotiate a language barrier. Whilst most accounts of conviviality focussed on fleeting, everyday gestures, the experience of Sahir points to the way that conviviality can foster connectedness, and the building of relationships across, and despite, difference.

Thus far, the accounts of conviviality shared here have illustrated how participants framed experiences positively. However, there were a smaller number of participants whose experiences were more ambivalent. Take, for example, the account of Zahra, a 23-year-old asylum seeker from Saudi Arabia who is currently living with a friend in Woolton:

> People here just get on with things; they try to get along. Like I say, Liverpool people are easy-going, they will smile, they will be friendly. They may not like people like me, but mostly they will get on with it.

Similar to both Maureen and Sahir, Zahra observes conviviality through everyday gestures. In my interview with Zahra she spent some time talking about how these gestures made her feel welcome when she first moved to Liverpool, however rather than presenting these gestures as wholly positive, Zahra's comments point to conviviality as a more pragmatic practice. In this sense, conviviality is framed as part of the process of accepting a situation and pragmatically 'getting on with it', rather than necessarily indicating positive attitudes. Adding further insight into this notion of pragmatic conviviality, I include below an extract from my interview with Andrew.

> We behave the way people expect us to. We all say stuff like 'Scousers are friendly' or 'it's our way', 'it's what we're known for', so that's how we try to behave… When you see the asylum seekers in town, or on the corner by the shops, we'll smile, we get on with it. That doesn't mean we like it. You can see it in reactions. You have to watch, so the girl with the pram who will veer across away from them. There is tension there but in subtle, unspoken ways. **(63, resident, Norris Green)**

For Andrew, the convivial behaviours of locals as they learn to share and negotiate difference are underpinned by narratives and expectations regarding 'the way scousers are'. In his comments, Andrew is suggesting that what we see and experience as a convivial gesture can be more pragmatic. This idea that convivial gestures mask hidden tensions was a repeating feature of my subsequent discussions with Andrew, who referred

to this as a ‘front’. In the chapter which directly follows this, I focus on the notion of obscured or ‘private’ tensions in more depth, exploring not only the tensions which are potentially masked by pragmatic convivial behaviours but also situations where this practice can be fractured, bringing these tensions to the surface.

Returning to the idea that a small number of refugees were more ambivalent about experiences of conviviality, I also found that for some this ambivalence was a response to everyday behaviours that they were not accustomed to before they moved to Liverpool. Recall here the account of Marikya, shared in the previous chapter. Whilst thinking about how she was made to feel welcome, Marikya spoke about a sense of uneasiness in response to convivial gestures. For Marikya, signs of conviviality, such as eye contact and smiling, initially made her feel anxious that people were watching her. Adding further insight into this, I include the account of Grace:

> I remember getting the bus with my friend and finding it really strange that people say thank you to the driver when they get off. And when I was walking round and people were saying good morning, I love that about Liverpool now, but I had lived in London, and the first time that happened it was a bit weird. If that had happened in London and a stranger said good morning, my first thought would be to run because they must be a mad person. **(Grace, 28, refugee, Greenbank)**

Both Grace and Marikya were initially wary of the convivial gestures they experienced. While both women say they have become more accustomed to the “ways of Liverpool” **(Grace),** for Marikya this is still something that can make her feel uneasy. Explaining this, Marikya spoke about her fears that members of her family, who she has fled from, will be able to find her. For Marikya, a stranger maintaining eye contact or attempting to interact with her can trigger these fears.

Despite saying that she has become more accustomed to the general convivial disposition in Liverpool, Marikya also informed me that she does not feel comfortable reciprocating convivial gestures. Whilst Marikya’s experiences are very unique to her and her situation, I did get a sense across my fieldwork that reciprocation of conviviality is an expectation. In my

interview with Suzanne, she spoke about being outgoing and trying to get to know her neighbours, with convivial gestures being used as a starting point for building a connection. I include here her comments recalling the experience of trying to engage with a family who had recently moved into the street.

> There is a Romanian family, probably asylum seekers at the top of the street, I say good morning every day, my baby smiles at them and you get nothing back, not a smile they don't even seem to acknowledge that we are there. **(31, resident, Anfield)**

Suzanne's comments indicate a disappointment that her convivial gestures were not reciprocated or acknowledged. In response, Suzanne says she no longer "makes an effort" with this family.

Further to this, I found that whilst Suzanne simply withdrew from attempts to connect, for some participants conviviality that was not reciprocated became a source of tension. In my interview with James, when thinking about the way that Bootle has changed since he went to live in Australia, he reflected on his own experience of convivial gestures not being reciprocated:

> You can have whatever strategies or projects you want some people do not want to be part of this city they want their own areas with their own people. By me Ma's you try to be friendly with some of these Muslims, treat them like you would another scouser, and you get blanked, it's obvious to me they don't want to get to know us or our city. **(38, resident, Greenbank)**

Of note in James' comments is the way that a lack of reciprocation is interpreted as indicating an unwillingness to integrate. This notion that there are markers of a willingness to integrate emerged in a small number of interviews. As in this case, a newcomer failing to show signs of being willing to integrate can become a source of tension between migrants and locals.

6.4.2 Multiculture, care and connection

The previous section focussed on experiences of conviviality. The accounts shared show how, despite most participants framing conviviality as positive and as indicative of a willingness to interact and connect across difference, tensions did exist within it. In this section, I will turn to those experiences where encounters moved beyond general conviviality into experiences of care and, at times, connectedness. It must be noted, that for participants who spoke about spaces of care and connection within multiculture, momentary spaces of care were most commonly discussed. The account of Majid **(22, asylum seeker, Anfield)** who recalled his experience of a gentlemen showing him to the bus stop and waiting to make sure he got on, (chapter 5) offers one such example of a momentary space of care.

Whilst these momentary spaces of care were the most commonly occurring, I also found examples of more established spaces of care and connection. The extract below, taken from my field notes, captures the space of care that has emerged between Amira and Suzanne. Suzanne and Amira met on the school playground whilst dropping their children off at school.

> Today I visited Suzanne; it has been about 2 weeks since we met to do the interview. Suzanne got in touch to tell me she had spoken to some of her friends, and they would be willing to meet me and discuss being interviewed. When I got to Suzanne's house, I noticed that she was standing outside the house opposite, peering through the window. Suzanne told me that this was the house of her friend, Amira, who she had told me about last time we met. Amira is a refugee from Iran, and Suzanne met her on the school playground whilst they were dropping off the children.
>
> Suzanne told me she was worried about Amira. She usually sees her at the school but noticed today that a family friend had dropped the children off. When I spoke to Suzanne last week, she said that both she and Amira suffer from migraines, and habitually check in on each other. Suzanne knocked on the door a few times and was just about to walk back to her house when she saw Amira walking down the street towards her. We both walked to Amira, and Suzanne told her she had been worried because she didn't see her at the school. Amira explained that she had had an appointment in town with a caseworker, so she arranged for her children to

> be taken to school with a family member. She smiled when Suzanne told her she was worried and hugged her. **(4.9.2018 – Fieldnotes)**

The extract illustrates the connection between these two women and how it rests on the exchange of care. Also of note is the way that shared experience of vulnerability, here the shared experience of migraines, was initially the focal point of their exchange of care.

This idea that common or shared experiences can foster connection was a feature of my fieldwork in Anfield and Kensington - the two areas in this study with high levels of deprivation and reportedly high numbers of people seeking asylum. Consider the comments of Barbara as illustrative of this theme:

> People round here are on the bones of their arses, but you still see people pulling together. There's a young girl over the road, a foreign girl, I'm not sure where from. She is on her own with 5 kids, God love her, and she does her best but… people pass clothes into her, you know for the kids, she does her best, the kids are clean and polite… Lovely girl she is though, you know. She often asks me if I need anything from the shops, save me going out. **(77, resident, Kensington)**

Barbara's comments point to the idea that, in areas of deprivation, a shared sense of struggle can bring people together across difference. With regards to the space of care that has opened in Barbara's street, her comments illustrate a reciprocal exchange of care. Residents help the young mum with donated clothing for her children, while she exchanges her time by going to the shops for elderly residents. The reciprocity of care, highlighted in the experiences of Barbara, as well as Amira and Suzanne, was a common feature of these everyday spaces of care that I observed during my fieldwork.

6.4.3 Multiculture and hostility: The list

Thus far, the accounts shared in this chapter have offered insight into the way that participants made sense of and experienced multiculture in Liverpool. When thinking about multiculture, and how that is experienced in Liverpool, it has been noted that this is experienced as mostly convivial.

However, as alluded to in the account of Andrew, this conviviality can be a form of “front stage’ behaviour. Andrew’s experiences hint at a pragmatic conviviality that can mask ‘unspoken tension’ and hostility towards refugees and asylum seekers. Whilst the chapter that directly follows this will explore the theme of tension in more depth, I wish to close this chapter with a focus on my findings concerning hostility, and how this can come to the surface in routine spaces.

As stated in chapter 4 of this thesis, my fieldwork overlapped with the 2018 Liverpool Biennial. One of the public art installations included in the Biennial was Banu Cennatoglu’s list[33] - a representation of refugees who have lost their lives attempting to cross the Mediterranean. The space chosen for the list, Great George Street, is just on the outskirts of the City Centre, moving out towards the south of the city. The street, which is in a residential area near to the cathedral, is a busy thoroughfare, both for traffic and pedestrians heading into the city. The list was placed over hoardings, which are normally a site for flyposting about events and club nights. As discussed in chapter 4, the list was repeatedly vandalised during the time it was on display. In this section, I include photographs taken from the site, alongside extracts from my discussions with participants and people I met whilst photographing the site.


[33] Further information about ‘The List’ by Banu Cennetoglu can be found online at the biennial website - https://www.biennial.com/2018/exhibition/artists/banu-cennetoglu

Photographs 10, 11 and 12: Nothing to do with refugees? Taken by S. Carney August 2018

This first set of photographs were taken following the initial vandalism of the list. Initially, the vandalism involved the list being torn away from the black hoardings. On this occasion, I met and spoke with George, a resident of the Ropewalks area of the City Centre. George was not aware of the installation and was interested in why I was taking photographs of ripped 'adverts'. I include here George's comments in response to what I told him about the installation.

> This looks like kids just ripping the posters off, I don't think they would even know what it was they were doing, it's probably got nothing to do with it being about refugees **(53, Liverpool resident)**

The view that the initial vandalism was more mindless than targeted was common in the conversations I had in the days that followed. This only began to change when, after the list was repaired, it was vandalised a second time. Following the second incident, the vandalism was being more widely reported and, in response, the artist and organisers of the biennial decided it would be more poignant to leave the list in its vandalised state.

Whilst a small number of the people I spoke to at this time felt this might have been carried out by 'bored kids', the majority thought this was targeted vandalism. I include here the comments of Fred, a 70-year-old resident of Kensington.

> It's awful isn't it, I mean, when you think all these names are just humans wanting a better chance. Who in their right mind in this city, of all places here, who would do this, it makes me feel sick to think there are people in this city that could do this, and be so sneaky about it.

In Fred's comments, we can see how the idea that somebody from the city could vandalise the list in this way was 'sickening'. In a sense, Fred's comments allude to the notion that there is an understanding that certain behaviours are not 'typical' of scousers - a theme that was discussed in the previous chapter. Also of note in my conversation with Fred was the view

that this act was ‘sneaky’. As the list continued to be vandalised, this idea of ‘sneakiness’ was raised more frequently. One such comment from Sarah, who I met in a café on nearby Bold Street, is illustrative of this.

> I will bet you any money the […] who did that are sneaking round, so they don’t get seen, so nobody knows what vile people they are…slimy two-faced…wouldn’t dare say them things out in the open, so they sneak around ripping paper instead. **(Sarah, 23)**

Following the second incident and the decision to leave the list in its vandalised state, each time I returned to the site, there was a new addition or development. The photographs below capture some of the positive responses to the vandalism.

Photographs: 13, 14 and 15: ‘Poetic responses’. Taken by S. Carney, September 2018.

Whilst following the second incident of vandalism, the majority of additions at the site were positive, there was a further act of vandalism. Until this point, a small minority still suggested that the vandalism could have been mindless, rather than targeted. Following this incident, this was no longer suggested in my conversations.

Photograph 16: Invaders. Taken by S. Carney, October, 2018.

Photographs 17, 18 and 19: Do you feel ashamed? Taken by S. Carney, October 2018

The photographs and accounts shared here capture a unique, and dynamic event that occurred during my fieldwork. In relation to experiences of multiculture and attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers, the data presented here gives some insight into the existence of hostility towards refugees. Whilst I will never know if this hostility was hidden behind what Andrew referred to as a 'front', this was the view of most of the residents and people who passed by as I photographed the site. It was widely acknowledged that there are people who hold these views, and most of those who contributed their thoughts on this event said they knew at least one person with such views. However, the consensus, including amongst participants with similar hostile attitudes, was that these are private views. In this case, these views have played out in public space, albeit in what was generally perceived as a 'sneaky' or 'hidden' way. When trying to make

sense of the vandalism of the list, participants and other informers suggested this act of repeated vandalism was illustrative of a power struggle.

> I think they could have picked a better place for it. If it had been in town, I reckon that wouldn't have happened. It's a normal street, and I doubt nobody that lived around there was asked or allowed a say on it. Ripping it up was them having a say, them saying… to the council that we should have a say in what happens, in who gets dumped in our streets. But we don't, it's out of our hands. Nobody ever asks. (**James, 38, resident, Greenbank).**

James' comments rationalise the vandalism as someone wanting to have a voice. He suggests that, with regards to the settlement of refugees, locals do not have a say and are, in a sense, powerless over who is accommodated in the area. For James, this vandalism was viewed as a way of trying to regain some power. It must be noted that James, as has been indicated in the comments included within this chapter, has a hostile attitude towards refugees in Liverpool and this may colour his reading of this situation. However, the idea that the vandalism of the list was a way of 'having a say' was common across the conversations and interviews that I carried out both during and after the event.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to explore experiences of multiculture in Liverpool, giving insight into the practices and behaviours that underpin it. Through the accounts shared, it has been shown that participants made sense of multiculture through its spatial dimensions. With regards to this, it has been shown that, where experiences of encountering difference have increased, participants framed this as an indication that the area has become more diverse and that changes in the local area, such as new 'ethnic' shops were reflective of an increasingly diverse population. The findings presented here give insight into the way that encounters with difference, particularly in the newer geographies of multiculture that have opened up, can disrupt notions of familiarity, impacting on participants sense of space. The majority of participants framed the changes they experienced as positive, for example,

through the disruption to established patterns of segregation or the emergence of a vibrant local culture. However, a small minority framed these changes in a negative light, with diversification being associated with a loss of community. Further, while notions of familiarity were disrupted at both the city and neighbourhood level, the findings of this study suggest that this is experienced more acutely at the local level, provoking more complex and emotive responses.

With regards to experiences of multiculture at a local, everyday level, this chapter contributes insight into the messiness of lived multiculture. Whilst the literature exploring multiculture has faced criticism for celebrating routine encounters and suggesting that co-existence is indicative of positive relations, the findings of this study contribute to our understanding of multiculture as something practised and negotiated. The accounts shared here give insight into the range of behaviours and practices that are drawn on as participants deal with the reality of multiculture. Whilst for many, the practice of multiculture was convivial, for others, it was fraught with tension, hostility and fears that were often hidden behind a pragmatic conviviality.

As stated, this thesis aims to explore experiences and responses to refugee settlement in Liverpool. With this in mind, this chapter has given insight into the practices of living together across difference. A focus on multiculture is not simply an exploration of how refugees and 'hosts' live alongside each other. However, in the context of this study, it has been shown that contemporary experiences of multiculture, and the way the spaces of multiculture are shifting, are perceived as being driven by the settlement of asylum seekers and refugees. Leading from this, through an exploration of how this multiculture is experienced, this chapter has given insight into the way refugee settlement is experienced – from the side of both residents and refugees themselves - revealing the attitudes which underpin these experiences. With regards to the way that refugees and residents negotiate living together, this chapter has introduced the notion of *pragmatic conviviality*. In this context, it was shown that convivial behaviours were, at times, pragmatic, masking concerns, tensions and hostilities. It is to tensions

that exist within the way Liverpool experiences refugee settlement and multiculture that I will turn in the following chapter.

Chapter 7: Hidden tensions: Concerns and anxieties within multiculture

7.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter sought to gain insight into experiences of refugee settlement in Liverpool, through a focus on multiculture. The findings presented explored the way that spaces across the city are shared (or otherwise), touching upon the everyday practices and strategies that are employed as people negotiate difference in these spaces. Whilst these findings highlight the general conviviality of encounters and interactions across difference, they also point to the tensions and hostilities that this conviviality can obscure (Valentine, 2008). Recall, for example, the vandalism of 'The List' or the exclusionary, often nostalgic narratives of James and Andrew which position refugees as unworthy of a welcome, as well as presenting immigration as driving a loss of community. Heeding Valentine's call for the need to be mindful of romanticising civil urban encounters, this final empirical chapter will focus on addressing questions relating specifically to tensions and anxieties, which exist underneath this convivial veneer (Hardy, 2017).

As stated, this chapter will focus on exploring tensions within the way refugee settlement is experienced in Liverpool. This chapter, then, contributes to an understanding of the tensions and potential vulnerabilities that exist in the way that the city responds to refugee settlement and the evolution of multiculture. Addressing the question of tension, this chapter will, firstly, explore how the convivial practices that underpin multiculture can obscure fears and tensions. As will be shown here, the practices which underpin multiculture, and which facilitate the flow of everyday life across difference, are open to fracture and disruption. The focus of this chapter is on the anxieties and real fears (Hardy, 2017) which pragmatic practices obscure, but which, nonetheless, can play out into tensions and potential fracture.

Regarding the anxieties and fears that were shared throughout this study, I found that these were broadly articulated around three specific

themes: *the cost/resource implications of refugee settlement*, *language and linguistic differences*, and *safety*. The discussion will start with concerns raised around the cost or resource implications of refugee settlement, pointing to the way that refugees and people seeking asylum are positioned as an 'additional' threat. Moving on from this, albeit continuing to explore themes related to the exclusion of refugees, the chapter will go on to focus on concerns over language and linguistic difference. This chapter will close with a focus on the way that refugees are positioned in relation to concerns over safety, highlighting how these concerns shape the portrayal of the newcomer as a figure of suspicion.

7.2 Pragmatism and the fracture of multiculture

> People are people. It is not to matter whether they are in here or out in the street. Not everyone will be liking everyone, people will be having things that annoy or frustrate. Silly things like parking in the wrong place. But we don't say these things, we get on with it for easy life, for quiet life. **(Solomon, 34, refugee Norris Green)**

In chapter 2 of this thesis, I discuss the concept of everyday or lived multiculture. This discussion framed multiculture as a bottom-up approach to living with difference (Wise, 2008), as opposed to state multiculturalism as a top-down approach to managing difference (Taylor-Gooby & Waite, 2014). In this regard, lived multiculture is framed as a reality of life in diverse, or diversifying areas. Multiculture, as it is understood in this thesis, is underpinned by practices and strategies which enable the negotiation of difference, and which facilitate the flow of everyday life across difference. However, through the accounts shared in the preceding chapter, it has been shown that these practices, and the convivial flows of everyday life, are not always an indication of respect for difference (Valentine, 2008). Rather, as captured in the account of Solomon, these practices can be born out of a desire for an easy or quiet life. The account of Solomon offers insight into what I call *pragmatic conviviality.* Furthermore*,* the experiences of Solomon highlight the way that pragmatic conviviality can serve as a mask, obscuring

the tensions and hostilities that exist beneath a seemingly convivial veneer (see also Hardy, 2017; Valentine, 2008).

More often than not, this pragmatic desire to 'get on with it', does serve to quieten these tensions, at least to the extent to which they appear to mostly "leak out in privatised spaces" (Valentine, 2008: 329). In the context of my interviews with participants, the relative privacy of our conversations, established and maintained through a sense of trust in the research process, seemingly gave those participants who opened up about tensions and concerns the confidence to allow them to 'leak out' in my presence. However, whilst this pragmatism can be seen to quieten tensions, the findings of this thesis also point to instances where they do leak out in everyday spaces. The vandalism of 'The List', as discussed in the previous chapter, provides an interesting example of tensions leaking into public spaces, albeit in a private, anonymised, way. In this regard, these hidden tensions can be understood as points of fracture (Watson, 2017) with the potential to disrupt the practices that underpin multiculture.

In relation to the aim of this thesis, which is to explore experiences of and responses to refugee settlement in Liverpool, the findings of this study point to the hidden tensions that arise from these experiences. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, I found that where tensions were discussed, they centred around specific concerns and anxieties (Hardy, 2017): namely, cost/resource implications, language and safety. Of note, particularly in interviews with established residents, concerns around these themes cut across interviews in all five areas of this study, regardless of the participant's overall attitude towards refugee settlement. In this regard, whilst for some participants these concerns, and the resentment which can arise from them, were consistent with the hostile and at times racist views they shared, for others, these concerns seemingly sat in tension with an otherwise positive outlook.

When thinking about those participants who had shared positive views, the findings of this study suggest that whilst these concerns did not play out into public hostility, they can become a site of frustration and

resentment. Recall, for example, the concerns of Elaine, shared in the previous chapter, who was worried about the impact of non-English speaking pupils on her child's education. Elaine, despite talking about pragmatically getting on with it, would go on to tell me that the amount of additional support EAL pupils get has become a frequent topic of conversation in her home.

> **SC:** You are talking about… well, you obviously have some concerns about [son] not getting the support he might need because of the different language needs in the class…have you spoken to anyone at the school?
>
> **Elaine**: I'm not happy about it, but you just have to get on with it, [son] is happy in the school, so I don't want to go in shouting my mouth off.
>
> **SC**: Is it something you just don't talk about then, or?
>
> **Elaine**: I do talk about it. Like my Mum knows and my partner. They know it plays on my mind. When me Mum comes for her tea, she asks him about it, like trying to find out how much times they get took out of class, or if the teacher has to stop and help them all the time. She thinks I should move him from the school. **(41, resident, Kensington)**

The experience of Elaine captures the way that these tensions, whilst masked in public, leak out and become a source of tension in private spaces, such as the home. These concerns, whilst playing into more subtle or quiet tensions, still indicate potential points of fracture within the practices of multiculture. While these tensions are not as attention-grabbing as the vandalism of 'The List', or the overtly hostile narratives of a small minority of participants, when thinking about what pragmatic conviviality obscures, they are, perhaps, the tensions which are more likely to remain hidden. They play out in strategies of avoidance and distancing that have nonetheless important implications for conviviality and political processes that concern refugee settlement.

7.3 Refugees, resources and threat

As stated, these concerns, whether emerging as part of a wider pattern of hostility or as a subtle tension, tended to fall into three overlapping categories: *Cost/Resources, Language, and Safety*. In the case of Elaine, concerns are prompted by linguistic differences. However, the tension she experienced is more illustrative of concerns around the cost and resource implications of refugee settlement. For Elaine, the issue is not that children

have additional language needs but that supporting these needs is diverting resources, such as the time and attention of teachers, away from her child. In this regard, the account of Elaine offers insight into the way that concerns can arise from a perception that refugees and asylum seekers are a resource threat (Lewis, 2006).

Illustrating this further, I include the accounts of Suzanne and Andrew, who shared similar concerns despite contrasting attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers. Consider, firstly the account of Suzanne whose comments indicate support for the principle of providing refuge and sanctuary, while also offering insight into other concerns that sit in tension with this support.

> **SC**: Do you think that as part of offering this safe place, the council has a role to play in providing support or services for refugees?
>
> **Suzanne**: Yes…Should we support these people who need our help? Absolutely. Absolutely, yes. I would like to think that help would be there for me and my family if needed, that there would be a safe place…if we have the space and the means then absolutely yes. But…do we have it? I am not so sure. We have homeless people in town, local families on the bread line. **(31, resident, Anfield)**

Now, compare this with the account of Andrew, in which overlapping concerns and themes emerge around the potential economic impact of refugee settlement.

> Obviously, there are people coming in who need help, but there's an awful lot of people in need of help in this city, people who could do with that level of investment to see them out beforehand…There is a saying 'Charity begins at home' and we have a lot of people on the streets who need help. We're robbing Peter to pay Paul…taking from our own families to support others. **(63, resident, Norris Green)**

In contrast to Suzanne, within the context of our conversations and our exchanges since, Andrew openly shared his hostility towards refugees and asylum seekers. However, despite these differences, these comments

illustrate shared concerns around the economic impact of refugee settlement in Liverpool. Of note in these accounts, particularly when thinking about these concerns as a source of tension, is the emergence of the notion that providing support for refugees may come at the expense of those already residing in the city. This concern is further illustrated through the frequency of comments such as, “How can we afford to help these people when we can’t even help ourselves?” **(Louise, 63, resident, Norris Green)** and “Where does that money come from when local families are already using food banks?” **(Marie, 42, resident, Norris Green)**.

7.3.1 ‘Our Own’: The inclusion/exclusion of refugees and asylum seekers.

In the accounts shared thus far, we can see how concerns can arise out of a perception that refugees and asylum seekers are a threat to the distribution of resources. A widespread view among the participants is that supporting refugees and asylum seekers is potentially diverting resources away from locals or existing issues. The narratives included here point to the emergence of a discursive boundary (Watson, 2006), as illustrated in Andrew’s comments about those who are ‘*our own’.* The use of ‘our’ to denote a sense of belonging is common in Liverpool; however, it is typically framed as inclusive. Note here the name of Liverpool’s refugee strategy, ‘Our Liverpool’; ‘our’ is used here as a way of signifying that the city is shared and belonging to all of those who reside in it. Contrasting with this, the use of ‘our’ that emerged in this study was more exclusionary, serving to draw a line between those included and those excluded - in this case referring to refugees and asylum seekers.

At this point, I would like to note that this boundary is not necessarily fixed or static. Rather, the boundary seemingly shifts, and inclusion within ‘our own’ is fluid, albeit at the discretion of those with the power to infer inclusion. In the context of this study, this power was, largely, held by Liverpool-born locals. However, a small number of interviews with migrants offered insight into “border behaviours” or strategies employed as a way of

negotiating this boundary (Grimson, 2008: 505). For the majority of these participants, there was a sense of resignation that this was not a boundary they would cross. However, this was accompanied by an understanding that their children would be viewed as a 'local'. Other migrants, for example, Sahir **(53, asylum seeker, Anfield)**, became actively engaged in the local community and local political groups as a way of partially negotiating this boundary. In contrast, Sabiya, **(37, asylum seeker, Greenbank)** framed this as a boundary she would not be able to negotiate, and so spent her time creating a community, and a sense of belonging, with other migrant women.

Whilst the power to infer belonging, in this sense, was held by Liverpool-born locals, it must be noted that this was further complicated by the fragmented and contested nature of belonging, identity and 'scouseness' within this group. The photograph below, a screenshot of a Merseyrail map, annotated by James **(38, resident, Greenbank)**, captures the way he makes sense of who is included, and the different identities within the area.

Figure. 5 Fragmented identity – annotated map contributed by James, September 2019

> Everyone just uses that word 'Scousers'…Outsiders call everyone in the region a scouser, but it's not like that really, is it? There are proper scousers, people from Liverpool, I'd include Bootle and places that are just outside in it. Some people don't, for some it's all about the wheelie bin…You've got

> ‘Plazzies’[34], ‘Wools’, then there’s people from Formby, who call themselves scousers when there’s something good happening, but won’t go near us when something bad happens… It’s not as easy as just drawing a circle round Merseyside and calling everyone scouse.

I would like to briefly touch upon the fluidity of this boundary and how this was experienced by participants who had migrated to the city, regardless of immigration status. Through these narratives, I was given a sense that those typically excluded, could be allowed marginal inclusion. I include here the account of Sasha to illustrate this.

> There is a group of Mums at [daughter’s] school. When we do the school run in the morning, I am talking to them, and now I am friends with them. We go to school coffee mornings, sometimes to the gym…They think it is funny because I am more sounding like them, so when I say something is ‘boss’, they laugh and say I am a scouser, a scouse bird they call me. (**Sasha, 31, refugee, Norris Green)**

For Sasha, while she spent some time talking about how she is starting to feel more like a local and more at home in the city, being, or becoming, scouse was viewed as something inferred by those already included. Here Sasha is included on the basis of sounding more scouse - a common experience - and resonates with the findings of Boland (2010a) whose research explores the role of accent/dialect in the construction of local identity. However, my findings suggest that inclusion is not fixed in place, rather participants spoke about feeling included in some situations and within some relationships, and then excluded in others. I return to the account of Sasha to illustrate this point.

> **Sasha**: I was going to start doing make-up for other people. Learn how to do it, then I could make some money. The community centre has courses on to do this.
>
> **SC:** That sounds like a really good idea…Are you going to try?

[34] Plazzies’ is used here in place of the word plastic, meaning fake. The term ‘Wools’ is more contested, and as such harder to define. James uses it here to refer to people living in the ‘new’ towns, such as Runcorn and Skelmersdale.

> **Sasha**: I don't know, I was telling my friend, and she said I would probably find it hard to get local girls, she said because I am not local, then they will think I don't know the way that scouse girls have their make-up.

The two experiences recalled by Sasha illustrate this partial and temporal inclusion. Whilst not necessarily the focus of this thesis, the account of Sasha gives a sense of a boundary that is not necessarily crossed by those excluded from this notion of 'our own', rather it is a boundary which seemingly moves over and around them.

I would now like to return to the idea of a *discursive boundary*, and how this can feed into tension. As stated, across my interviews with Liverpool-born participants, I noted the emergence of a discursive boundary and the separation of those viewed as one of 'our own' from those excluded. Recall the account of Andrew, shared earlier. Where Andrew talks about charity beginning at home, he is drawing on this boundary to effectively pit the needs of the included against the excluded. In this sense, this boundary can be seen to be mobilised to construct a social hierarchy. Within this narrative, the needs of those included should be prioritised over those excluded. To further illustrate the construction of this hierarchy, I include the account of Alicia.

> There's a lovely family in my street, I think they are from Pakistan. They are nice, quiet, two gorgeous kids. But it's hard, isn't it, I mean, there's a lot of our own families waiting for a suitable house to come available, or ones who are out on the streets. And it's hard to justify that this family have been given a house when so many of our own are told there are none available. **(Alicia, 23, resident, Greenbank)**

Alicia's comments give insight into this hierarchy of social positioning as a potential source of tension. These comments point to the tensions that can arise where support, in this case, access to housing, is perceived as going

against this hierarchy, with the excluded seemingly given favourable access over the included. It must be noted that, as with many of the claims and concerns raised around the cost or resource implications of refugee settlement, this tension arises from a misperception. Here Alicia is questioning how it can be justified that this family is given access to a house, that she believes is social housing, ahead of non-migrant families on the waiting list. However, the property in question was no longer part of the social housing stock, rather this was one of the properties being utilised by New Start Housing as part of their 'New Roots' project. Misperceptions over resources like housing were common, underpinning the perceptions that refugees gain favourable access to housing.

The account of Alicia points to the potential for tensions to arise where those excluded from the notion of 'our own' are seen to be prioritised over those who are included. Consider the account of Robert as adding additional insight into this tension. I met Robert at a sports centre in Anfield where he gives up some of his spare time to coach junior football teams. In our conversation, Robert spoke about an initiative that he had seen being shared on grassroots football forums, on Twitter and Facebook. The initiative, organised by City of Liverpool Football Club, was aimed at making it easier for children from refugee or asylum-seeking backgrounds to access grassroots football by helping provide equipment, such as football boots.

> I can't get me head round this whole thing of boots for refugees, kits for refugees. I run a football team, there's local lads with holes in their footy boots, scouse kids who can't play footy 'cos their parents can't afford boots or shinnies. These kids are left out, and you've got do-gooders going round collecting boots for refugees instead. **(Robert, 35, resident, Kensington).**

In my conversation with Robert, he expressed his concerns regarding the economic impact of refugees. For Robert, this initiative confirmed that providing for refugees and asylum seekers is prioritised ahead of local families. He had already expressed his concerns that asylum seekers are "given free houses" despite an ongoing homelessness problem. Talking this through with Robert, I found that what he was most frustrated about in this instance is that the support and resources being offered to refugees

overlapped with the needs of ‘locals’. In this regard, Robert is highlighting the existence of shared needs. For Robert, the tensions that arise come from a perception that support to meet these needs exists; however, the benefits of this support are not shared across the existing population.

7.3.2 Shared needs, parallel solutions

The accounts shared in the preceding section, indicate that tensions exist where the needs of refugees are seemingly prioritised ahead of locals. Further, it was noted that this tension could be exacerbated when the specific need that is being addressed was shared across the community. This was particularly true in areas with higher levels of deprivation (Anfield, Kensington and Norris Green). This section will focus on this notion of shared needs, exploring some of the tensions that emerged in my interviews with refugees and asylum seekers.

Leading on from the account of Robert, which pointed to tension around support for shared needs, I found that similar concerns emerged in my interviews with a small number of refugees and asylum seekers. To illustrate this, I include the account of Habib, who I met during Summer 2018 at the Africa Oye Festival in Sefton Park.

> **Habib**: This is good, these big events. Look around, so many people here coming to celebrate. It is a celebration of African culture, but it is not just for Africans. It is for everyone, and they are here together, mingling together. This is needed, things for everyone. So many times it is this thing for refugee, this for you, it is not good to make everyone different in this ways.
>
> **SC:** What do you mean by that, when you say we need things for everyone? Can you tell me more about that?
>
> **Habib**: It is not good to split people and say this is just for you, but not for you. My friend is looking for a house, but he is not good on the computers to look for a house, I ask [support worker] if she can sit with him, help him. But this help I get is just for refugees, not for people from here so [support worker] can’t help.

Habib's comments indicate a sense of frustration that despite the existence of needs, which are shared across the local population, the support in place to meet these needs is separated and targeted at specific groups. Habib would go on to tell me that his friend, who is from Liverpool, can get help with the Property Pool system, but to access this, he needs to go to the town centre and make an appointment with a housing officer. In this regard, this support is seen to be duplicated and then targeted at distinct groups. Whilst Robert spoke of his frustration that, despite an overlapping need, meeting this need for refugees and asylum seekers was seen to be prioritised over locals, here Habib's frustration arises from the existence of multiple, parallel solutions, to tackle a shared issue.

For Habib, this apparent duplication of support was presented as needless, particularly given the economic climate.

> This is very hard times. People have little money. The supermarket has a big box for people to give food, donations of food to the food bank… This is waste. Money is spent needlessly, spending for these people here, then more for these people.

Habib's comments also capture a concern around the way that refugees and asylum seekers are treated as separate from the rest of the local population. Where Habib says that this separation makes 'everyone different', he points to these parallel solutions as potentially reinforcing difference. This is further illustrated in the comments of Pierre.

> I got a paper through the letterbox today - it was about a computer course in the community centre for refugees…I think this is trying to do good, but why just for the refugee?. If I need to learn computer and my Liverpool friends need to learn computer then why not all together? Why is one course for you and a different one for you, and you? If there is just one course, then it is having people all together, this is better than making them stay apart. **(Pierre, 27. Kensington, Refugee)**.

Through the narratives of Habib and Pierre we can see how these initiatives, where they are seen to separate refugees and asylum seekers from the rest of the local population, can reproduce, rather than disrupt, the discursive boundary discussed earlier in this chapter. Also of note in the account of

Pierre, is the suggestion that having one course that brings people together is better than multiple, separated courses that set them apart. In this regard, Pierre expressed his frustration that an opportunity to bring people together across difference, around a shared need or experience, was missed.

At this stage, I would like to note the temporal dimensions of the experiences captured here, specifically regarding the length of time Habib and Pierre have lived in Liverpool. Habib has lived in Liverpool for 4 years and was granted refugee status within 8 months, while Pierre has been in Liverpool for 6 years and was granted refugee status in 12 months. This time spent living in the city was above average when compared to the rest of my sample, and their experiences of the asylum system were not as drawn out as others. These temporal dimensions, which have enabled them the time to develop social networks and connections to others in the city, potentially explain their attitudes towards shared needs as a way to bridge difference.

The idea that shared experiences can help bridge difference was touched upon in the preceding chapter, through the account of Barbara. Here, Barbara's relationship with her Romanian neighbour provides a glimpse at the way a shared experience, in this case, the economic struggles of many of the families in the street, can foster a sense of community togetherness across difference.

7.3.3 Shared solutions: A whole community approach

The findings presented in the previous section point to tensions which can arise around the existence of shared needs. As shown, for some participants, there was a frustration that there are initiatives which target refugees even though the problem being addressed is more widespread across the local population. Whilst for some the tension arose from a perception that refugees' needs are prioritised over those of 'locals', for others this played out into frustration that focusing on refugees serves only to reinforce exclusion.

This sense that shared needs can bring people together over difference is something I had the opportunity to discuss at an impact event organised by Migration Working Group – North West, held in Liverpool during February 2019. During this event, through my conversations with representatives of New Start Housing and the South East Integration Network (an organisation based in Glasgow), I found that attendees had similar views and experiences around this opportunity to foster inclusion. The feedback and insight gained from these discussions resonated with the experience of Pierre. Whilst it was acknowledged that there are many needs and issues that are specific to the experiences of refugees and asylum seekers, there are also shared needs across the local population. The practitioners I spoke to shared experiences of hostility being aimed at initiatives that the wider community could benefit from, but that were aimed specifically at refugees and asylum seekers[35]. In contrast, the feedback from attendees around adopting a whole community approach to these needs, suggested that not only were they less likely to attract negative attention, they were also more successful at garnering the support of locals.

The potential of a whole community approach to tackling these needs was also born out during my fieldwork, for example, in the conversations I had with volunteers at the Venus Centre in Bootle. Whilst working on a range of community initiatives to support the residents of Bootle, the Venus Centre is also part of a collaboration between community organisations and the housing sector to help with the resettlement of Syrian refugees. I include here an extract from my conversation with one of the support workers at the centre, Carla.

> The way they see it, refugees can come in get a house quick and here we are filling the house with furniture. Part of how we combat that is through community engagement, so local people who know what we do and what we are about also know that if they need help getting furniture, or an oven, or whatever, then we will help them, too. The groundwork has been done in the

[35] Examples of support included, uniform banks, clothes swaps, furniture drives and employability support.

> community, so they know we are about helping all the community, not one particular group.

Here Carla is passing comment on the perceptions of the local population regarding what they see as refugees being prioritised and gaining favourable access to resources and support. Reflecting on her experiences of how they approach this at the Venus Centre, Carla points to the success of a whole community approach.

Whilst the work of the Venus Centre has benefitted from a whole-community approach, the findings of this study, however, suggest this is not a fail-safe approach to bridging difference around specific needs. Rather, the study found that some initiatives and organisations found a whole community approach problematic. Football for All, an initiative organised by City of Liverpool Football Club, for example, tried to adopt a whole community approach to their football sessions. However, it became apparent that local young people who did come along tended to mix only with other locals, and tensions quickly emerged between locals and migrants. Following these issues, Football for All shifted their approach, instead inviting a smaller number of locals along to play football with migrants before building up to a wider community approach from there. Further to this, other community initiatives found that even where a shared need had been identified it was hard to encourage locals to engage and those that did, more often than not, already held positive views towards diversity and immigration.

Nevertheless, there were many examples of organisations that utilised a whole community approach successfully and who are better placed to share best practice in this regard. Examples that I became aware of during my fieldwork included: 4 Wings, Growbaby, and the L6 centre. A full list of organisations that I came in contact with during my fieldwork is included in appendix C to this thesis.

7.4 Language and linguistic difference

Having presented my findings concerning tensions around the cost or resource implications of refugee settlement, this chapter will now turn to

concerns around language and linguistic diversity. In the preceding section, the narratives of participants point to the emergence of a discursive boundary, which serves to exclude refugees and asylum seekers. This exclusion centred on making a distinction between people viewed as our own, and those who fall outside of this group. Leading on from this, the accounts shared in this section will continue to explore themes of exclusion and othering, with a specific focus on the way that language can act as a gatekeeper to inclusion.

In my interviews and informal conversations with refugees and asylum seekers, I found that there were shared concerns over language, particularly around the use of English. One of the most common ways that these concerns came to light in my interactions with migrants was through a light-hearted tendency to apologise for their English, regardless of their language proficiency. Also of note here, and documented in chapter 4 of this thesis, is the sense of pride that some of these participants expressed over their ability to take part in this study and to conduct the interview in English. With regards to these examples and how they were expressed in my conversations, they did come across as light-hearted with many participants laughing at occasions where they struggled to find the 'right word'. However, the narratives of refugees and asylum seekers, particularly as they recalled their experiences of settling in the city, give a glimpse at the fears and anxieties that this light-heartedness can obscure.

Take into consideration the account of Fatima who would frequently refer to herself as 'one of the lucky ones' based on having come to the UK already being able to speak some English.

> I am lucky. I am speaking English, not great but I can talk, I can ask. It is harder for others, so the help people need is very different. I was ok to go out, to ask, 'can you help me find this place?' or to ask for bus ticket, other people do not have this. I speak to many women in MRANG, and this is making them afraid to go out. **(25, refugee. Kensington)**

The ability to speak 'some' English meant that Fatima could make connections, ask for help and "be heard". For Fatima, not being able to speak English was potentially isolating, with many of the women she has

come to know through MRANG (also known as Refugee Women Connect) becoming afraid to go out. Fatima would go on to explain how linguistic differences can exacerbate feelings of being ‘out of place’.

> Think how it is to be in a new place, a strange place. To not know where you are, what is this place, what are the ways of this place. Then, think of not having the words to ask, to talk and tell. This can make you feel very alone and afraid.

In her comments, not only does Fatima point to the difficulty of negotiating a language barrier but also how this barrier can act as an additional driver of isolation. It must be noted that for Fatima, particularly when reflecting on the experience of asylum seekers dispersed into the city, a lack of information about the new, strange place they find themselves accommodated in is at the heart of initial experiences of isolation. For Fatima, not being given the information to know where you are or to begin to get to know the place is further exacerbated by the additional barrier of linguistic differences.

This understanding that anxieties over language can play into a sense of isolation was echoed in many of the conversations I had with refugees and asylum seekers throughout my fieldwork. Further illustrating this, I include the account of Mai. Here Mai recalls her experiences of coming to live in Liverpool.

> When I am first here, I didn’t have much English. A few words, not good. I am always worry about speaking to people. I remember someone smiling, saying good morning and I didn’t know what to say. I was scared to go out after because someone might say hello or talk to me and I couldn’t talk back. When I did go out, I would look down at the floor, never with my head up, so I didn’t have to. **(47, refugee, Anfield)**

In this account, we are again given a glimpse at the way a language barrier, and anxieties about not sharing a language can play into social isolation. The experiences of Mai give insight into the way that these anxieties can be masked by everyday practices, such as avoidance. In this instance, we can see the avoidance of eye contact, so as not to invite interaction. This strategy

of avoidance used here echoes the practices of Marikya, whose uneasy experience of convivial gestures has been discussed in the previous two chapters. Whereas the strategy of avoiding interactions was used in Marikya's case to navigate everyday spaces, whilst masking her fears of being recognised, for Mai this strategy enabled her to go about her daily routine while negotiating her anxieties around using the English language.

The experiences shared thus far, give some insight into the feeling of anxiety around language and how that can exacerbate social isolation. Further, these accounts point to the importance of ESOL and language support as a strategy towards tackling isolation. However, and whilst not diminishing the importance of English language support, the narratives of refugees and asylum seekers also hinted at underlying issues with regards to the attitudes of 'locals' to linguistic diversity. To illustrate this, I include the account of Sahir as he recalls the experiences of his wife, Asima **(51)**.

> When we came, my wife went to English classes; she had to get a bus…The driver did not understand what she was saying. A man pushed passed her to get on the bus, very angry, shouting about foreigners, shouting 'Speak English'… She stopped going out much after. She was afraid that she would not know the words, that people would get angry… She spends most time just in the house, making sure the children are cared for, lots of food ready for when they get home from school. It is like a restaurant, always clean and lots of food. But this is very lonely. **(53, asylum seeker, Anfield)**

In Sahir's account, there are notable commonalities with those accounts shared earlier in this section, for example, in the way his narratives point to these experiences as exacerbating social isolation. However, in the case of Asima, we see additional anxiety relating to the way that language can mark someone out as different. For Sahir, Asima's anxiety and withdrawal stemmed from fears around how people may respond to this difference. In the response of the man on the bus, we are given a glimpse at the hostility, seemingly stemming from Asima not speaking English, which can sometimes disrupt the general conviviality of everyday encounters. I did not get the opportunity to explore these experiences with Asima in person; therefore, my

interpretation of this is contingent on how Sahir understood and framed this experience. Nevertheless, given that Sahir's account of his wife's experiences echoes other experiences shared with me throughout my fieldwork, there is a need to be mindful of attitudes towards linguistic diversity.

7.4.1 English as the 'legitimate' shared language

As stated in the preceding section, the experience of Asima offers a glimpse at an underlying issue with regards to attitudes towards linguistic diversity. In the example given, the attitude of the man on the bus disrupted the typical practices of multiculture, as explored in the previous chapter, and had a significant impact on the inclinations of refugees to mix in public spaces. Whilst my findings suggest that most encounters were convivial, or at least civil, the experience of Asima, one of public hostility, was, by no means, isolated. I include here an extract from my interview with Joyce**,** who I met at the site of The List. In our conversation, Joyce recalled an incident she had observed on her way home from the local supermarket.

> I was walking past the bus stop by the Asda, and this foreign-looking couple was sat at the stop, must have been waiting for a bus. I don't know why; the bus only stops there of a weekend. Anyways, this arl[36] drunk walks passed and tells them 'why you sat there, there's no bus coming there, what you waiting for'. He was pissed but didn't seem overly angry or shouty. They looked at him, a bit blank like they didn't know what he was on about, but they didn't respond to him or anything, they just started talking to each other in their own language. He lost the plot. It really wound him up. Like he was laughing with them one minute, then he starting raging at them, 'fresh off them boats are ya", really shouting how they should be speaking English and not foreign**. (67, resident, Norris Green)**

Of note in her retelling of the incident is the way that the use of a language other than English, which Joyce frames here simply as 'foreign',

[36] Used in place of 'old'.

was seemingly a turning point in this exchange, triggering an aggressive and hostile response from the passer-by. This account captures the way that language can mark someone out as different, or as 'out of place' (Blackledge, 2000). Whilst I have stated that these overtly hostile instances were not isolated, they were, at least according to my observations and the narratives of participants, by no means common. However, the privileging of English as the legitimate 'shared' language (see also Watson, 2006), as seen in these accounts, was a recurring theme across my interviews. My conversation with Ashleigh offers further insight into this.

> It does make it hard when they don't speak English. It's important that people speak the language, or at least try to. I went to a baby group at the children's centre. They do try to bring mums in the area together, but when they're stood chatting amongst each other in their own language, well that's not showing me that you want to mix in and actually be part of the local area. **(20, resident, Anfield)**

Even though this group of mums shared a language, the issue and source of tension in Ashleigh's experience rested on the fact that the language they shared was not English. Ashleigh would go on to tell me how she came away feeling angry at the way she had "been made to feel left out, in her own backyard". In this regard, the account of Ashleigh is not only illustrative of the privileging of English but also points to a tendency to question the legitimacy of using other languages in public/semi-public spaces, such as the Children's Centre (Watson, 2006).

Through this account, we can see how English is privileged, specifically in relation to communication and social interaction. Further, and resonating with the findings of Watson (2006), I found that this attitude towards the use of English also extended into tensions around the way that other languages are accommodated in public space. My interview with Paul reveals tensions around multilingual signage in his local GP surgery.

> Why, when I go the doctors, do all the signs and posters have to be in different languages? I get that not everyone speaks English. I get that. But what are they going to do, keep adding a new poster, so nobody's left out? Its madness, complete PC bollocks. They have come here, they need to

> learn the language, it's on them. It's not on us to change how we do things. **(58, resident, Anfield)**

It must be noted that Paul's views concerning language are aligned with the overall negative tone in the conversations we shared about refugee settlement and the way he feels about the changes in Anfield. However, the emphasis he places on the need for newcomers to 'change' and to learn English was reflected in my conversations with residents across all five areas of this study. Whilst, for some of these participants the focus was on how learning English will benefit refugees, for the majority the issue of a shared language centred on the needs of locals, for example, with regards to maintaining a sense of community or making social interactions "less awkward" **(David, 55, resident, Woolton).** These examples, then, point to the way that linguistic differences can be perceived as a barrier to social interaction and community building.

Returning to the account of Ashleigh, where she talks about the use of a language other than English as a sign that the mums did not want to 'mix in', we can see how language can be used to mark someone out as different and as not from the city. In this sense, Ashleigh's comments are indicative of linguistic othering (see for example Tereschenko et al., 2019), whereby those who don't meet the 'ideal' are excluded from belonging or, returning to the comments of Andrew, from being seen as one of 'our own'. Further, whilst this narrative acts to exclude based on linguistic difference, the comments of Ashleigh also illustrate how those speaking a language other than English can be perceived as not wanting to be included. Language is, then, also a presumed marker of a willingness to integrate and be included. The account of Louise adds further insight into this.

> I think it's a lot better when people who come over start being like scousers…Friendly. Mixing in. Speaking English…That shows they want to be part of the city. **(63, resident, Anfield)**

In our conversations, Louise had mostly shared negative and hostile views around refugee settlement and migration. However, she also suggested that those from outside of the city could, over time, come to be seen as a local. For Louise, this centred on this notion of "showing you want

to be part of the city". Exploring what this meant for her, she gave the example of the taxi driver who collects her from the hospital.

> He's not from here, he's a Paki fella. But I'd say he's a local. He's mucking in, mixing in with locals. He speaks English, and he can have a laugh at himself too, we laugh that he gets more scouse every day. We can be very accepting people, but you have to show you want to be accepted.

These comments illustrate a common theme in my interviews with Liverpool-born residents when talking about the idea of the 'local', specifically around who is classed as a local, and how, or if, you can become one. In these interviews, alongside "getting involved" **(Amelia, 40, resident, Woolton)** and "becoming a familiar face" **(Elenor, 63, resident, Greenbank),** there was an expectation or desire for newcomers to become 'more scouse'. In the case of those newcomers where there is a language difference, speaking English, or being seen to be trying to speak English, is central to this (albeit marginal) inclusion.

7.4.2 Linguistic othering, exclusion and threat

Thus far, this section has focussed on exploring anxieties around language and linguistic diversity. In the accounts shared, we are given insight into the way that language, specifically in this context English, can act as a gatekeeper (Polezzi et al., 2019). In this sense, language becomes a basis for the inclusion/exclusion of refugees and asylum seekers. I will now move on to explore the way that linguistic othering and the exclusion of refugees can play into the perception and portrayal, of refugees as a threat.

The findings presented in the preceding section point to the way that language, and linguistic difference, can exclude refugees and asylum seekers from being seen as a local, or as wanting to become one. Returning to the account of Andrew, shared earlier in this chapter, recall how the distinctions that he made between those included/excluded from notions of the local played into a hierarchy of social positioning, and in turn a prioritising of needs. What the account of Andrew, and those I include here, point to is that this exclusion from the local positions refugees as an "additional need"

(Eleonor, 63. Resident, Greenbank). That is, refugees and asylum seekers, and the provision of services/support for them, are seen to fall outside of the provisions in place for residents. A consequence of this exclusion from the mainstream is that refugees and asylum seekers, positioned here as an additional need, are perceived as a potential threat to resources.

I would like to return here to the account of Paul, shared earlier in this chapter, who spoke about his frustration that there is an increasing accommodation of linguistic diversity in public/semi-public spaces such as the doctors' surgery. For Paul, the frustration he experienced centred on his opinion that accommodating linguistic difference was unnecessary; migrants should adapt to the culture of the city, not the other way around. Alongside this frustration, Paul also shared concerns over the cost and resource implications of accommodating an increasingly multilingual population.

> It's ridiculous, girl. We are worrying about whether these foreigners are able to read signs. Paying out God knows what to make sure they can get a letter off the council in whatever language they speak. Meanwhile, there's local families on the breadline. Rats the size of cats roaming the streets, I mean, how can they find money to help someone who can't even be arsed to learn English read a sign, but not our own families. **(58, resident of Anfield).**

Pauls comments illustrate not only a frustration that the city accommodates linguistic diversity but also resentment that money is being spent to do so at a time when he feels resources are stretched. My conversation with Maureen also revealed similar concerns.

> In an ideal world, everyone would get the support they need…But it's not an ideal world, is it? The country is on its arse. Skint! My Grandson waited months for an MRI scan, you hear of people who can't even get a GP appointment. The NHS is on the brink, it doesn't have a bean. So, when you have people who don't speak our language, and the NHS has to foot the bill for translators, then you have to see why people might think it's not fair when local families have to do without. **(61, resident, Norris Green)**

The comments of Paul and Maureen capture the tensions that exist around language and the accommodation of non-English speaking migrants in shared spaces. In both accounts, the current economic climate is drawn on

to question whether spending money to support the language needs of non-English speakers is justifiable. Further, these comments illustrate the way that linguistic others are excluded from the 'local'. For example, in Maureen's comments about the length of time her Grandson waited for a hospital appointment, we can see how providing for the needs of the 'other' is effectively pitted against the need of the 'local'. This resonates with the narratives discussed earlier in this chapter around the emergence of a hierarchy of social positioning within which the needs of those included within the notion of 'our own' are prioritised ahead of who are those excluded.

7.4.3 Feeling unsafe: Refugees and an increasing sense of threat

As stated, this chapter aims to explore tensions that can arise from 'real' concerns and fears around refugee settlement. It has been noted that whilst convivial practices facilitate the flow of everyday life, these same practices also serve to obscure tensions. In the findings presented, thus far, there has been a focus on specific concerns around resources and linguistic difference. Leading on from this, I wish now to explore tensions which emerge from fears and concerns around safety. The accounts that will be shared here will show how these fears are not solely associated with refugee settlement. Rather, they are part of a widespread narrative around crime and safety which play into a perception that the city as a whole is less safe. Alongside this general perception of increased danger, my findings suggest that these fears are experienced more acutely at the neighbourhood and street level, particularly in those areas with higher levels of deprivation (Anfield, Kensington and Norris Green). The study found that these fears were, often, tied up in the experiences of change, transience and a loss of community which were documented in the previous chapter.

Whilst this chapter is interested in gaining insight into tensions and concerns around refugee settlement, it has been stated that the fears and safety concerns raised in relation to refugee settlement were tied up into wider narratives of danger and threat. Therefore, to understand the

perception that refugees pose a threat to a sense of safety, it is important to also engage with these wider narratives and experiences of change. Starting, firstly, with the perception that Liverpool is becoming less safe in general, I include the account of David, who migrated to Liverpool from Wales in the 1980s.

> When I came here, people said I was mad. At that time, Liverpool was very much seen as a dangerous place… That outside view has started to change, at least that's the sense I get when I go home. Living here though, I actually feel like the city is more dangerous than back then like it is getting worse…I feel less safe here now than I did back then. **(55, resident, Woolton)**

The account of David captures this general sense that the city has become more dangerous. Further, these comments illustrate a tendency to draw a temporal contrast when thinking about feelings of unsafety. In this regard, participants, particularly those who have lived in the city for an extended time, drew on their experiences and recollections of the past to construct a narrative around crime, safety and an increased sense of danger. To add further insight into this, I include the account of Marie.

> I don't like my son going into town, not of a night-time anyway. It's not like when we was younger. We used to be able to go out, have a laugh…I never felt like I wasn't safe, like it wasn't a good idea to be there. I tell him, it's not him. It's not, I trust him. It's all the other dickheads I worry about. It's so different now, these lads'll stab ya over twenty quid, it's a different city to the one we grew up in. **(42, resident, Norris Green)**

Marie's comments capture a romanticized tone in the way that established residents spoke about their experiences of going out. In this regard, there was a focus on the good times they had, whilst glossing over experiences and instances of crime. In my conversation with Marie, for example, we spent some time reminiscing over nightclubs that have since closed down and our own experiences of going clubbing. During this conversation, she recalled incidents of sexual assault and violent crime, which were excluded from her narrative around the city as increasingly dangerous.

Whilst this general perception that the city is becoming less safe played out in relation to specific spaces and issues, the findings of this study

point to an additional layer of fear where these concerns around safety play out and are seemingly experienced more acutely at the neighbourhood level. As the sections that follow will show, whilst tied up into experiences of change and loss, it is at the neighbourhood level that these fears around safety begin to overlap with refugee settlement and 'newcomers'.

7.5 (Un)Safe neighbourhoods

As stated, I found that this sense of increasing danger was experienced more acutely at the neighbourhood level. This was particularly true in Anfield, Kensington and Norris Green, which are the areas in my study with higher levels of deprivation. With regards to this overlap with deprivation, one explanation that emerged in my fieldwork related to a restricted sense of motility (Gorman-Murray & Nash, 2014), particularly with regards to housing options and the (in)ability to move to a 'better' area (see also Pemberton, 2017a). Whilst emerging in too small a number of interviews to draw any conclusions, I found that the safety fears of residents in deprived areas were exacerbated by a sense that they were trapped. Consider the account of Suzanne as an illustration of this:

> I check my doors at least twenty times before I go to bed, then lie there listening to the sirens, the dealers sat in their car running their engines outside the house. It's hard, I'd love to escape, but what choice have I got. I can't afford the rent anywhere else. I can't get the deposit up to even think of getting out. **(31, resident, Anfield)**

Adding further insight into this lack of choice and options, I return to the account of Amir, shared in chapter 5. Recall here that when Amir had to move on from his Serco accommodation, he was anxious around the options available to him and spoke of his sense of fear that these were areas with a 'bad reputation'.

> These areas are not safe. My friend has said it is not good here for people like me. I apply for houses, and this is all I can have, I have little choices to be somewhere safer, my choice is these places or, I don't know, maybe I will end up with no home. **(25, resident, Anfield)**

Returning to the fears that emerge in relation to refugee settlement, I found that when positioning refugees and people seeking asylum as a potential threat, concerns tended to cluster around specific groups of refugees, mostly Asian males, and around the establishment of HMO's. As has been stated, these concerns over the threat posed by refugees were tied up, and perhaps exacerbated by, residents' experiences of a loss of community and how that has led to an increasing sense that the neighbourhood is unsafe. Leading on from this, this section will explore the way that these experiences of transience and loss play into concerns around safety and the positioning of refugees and asylum seekers as a figure of suspicion.

With regard to the heightened sense of fear and feelings of unsafety at the neighbourhood level, the findings of this study suggest these may be exacerbated by perceptions around a loss of community. My interview with Maureen points to the way that community can shape a sense of security.

> I'd sound soft if I said there wasn't any crime back then. It wasn't perfect, but you never had that feeling of unease like now… Maybe it's 'cos there was more of a community like you knew your neighbours, so you looked out for everyone that bit more. **(61, resident, Norris Green)**

This comment captures the emergence of a narrative, which presents these anxieties around safety and crime as being underpinned by a loss of community. For Maureen, despite acknowledging that there was still crime in the area, there was a sense of safety, of security, that came from living in a tight-knit community. Crucial to this was that neighbours knew each other and took an active role in 'looking out for each other'. Adding further insight into the importance of this sense of community to feelings of safety, I include the experience of Sahir.

> Tuebrook was not a good place for me. We had some problems here with youngsters shouting, kicking the door. The people here just did not help. It was very bad time. I was too much depressed, and in Tuebrook, they do not stop to help or say to these youngsters to stop. Now in Anfield, this is better. There is still youngsters being up to no good, but my neighbours watch and say stop. **(53, asylum seeker, Anfield)**

Whilst not necessarily reflecting on the loss of community, we can see that a sense of community, underpinned by neighbourly acts such as keeping an eye out and intervening in situations, are central to Sahir's increased sense of safety in Anfield. Through the accounts of Maureen and Sahir, we can see how the relational dimensions of community and neighbourhood play into a sense of safety and security.

Given the centrality of community and neighbourly relations to this sense of safety, as illustrated through the comments of Maureen and Sahir, it is, perhaps, not surprising that one of the key issues which emerged around safety was the transience of the local population. I include here the account of Paul to illustrate this. Whilst this comment does not make a connection between transience and refugee settlement, Paul viewed refugee settlement not only as a driver of this transience but also as feeding into the lack of effort to build and maintain a sense of community.

> There is no community. Years ago, you knew your neighbours. The community was tight-knit, people pulled together, looked out for each other… Now people don't give a toss. You don't really get to know your neighbours now. You've got people moving in and out all the time, so that idea of a community goes out the window…you get to the point where you can't be bothered putting the effort in to get to know people when they'll be gone soon, and you have to start all over again. **(58, resident, Anfield)**

Paul's comments capture a tendency to link transience to the loss of a sense of community, based around the idea of neighbours 'looking out' for each other. Paul would go on to talk about some of the issues in the street, with a focus on his perception of an increase in anti-social behaviour and crime. For Paul, alongside issues relating to budget cuts and fewer police, the absence of these neighbourly relations, which he claimed, 'kept people in check', has played a part in this increase in crime.

Also of note in Paul's comments, is the way he frames community in relation to labour. For Paul, building and maintaining the neighbourly relations that are crucial to this sense of community is presented in terms of labour and effort. These comments point to transience as placing greater demands on residents to maintain a sense of community. Further to this,

linguistic differences were commonly understood as exacerbating the demand of maintaining community in transient areas. Linguistic differences are, then, perceived as an additional barrier to building community in transient areas on the basis of the increased effort required to build a sense of community in the absence of a shared language.

In areas where a sense of loss and increasing anxiety around safety were associated with the transience of the population, I found that newcomers were often treated as a figure of suspicion. This was, seemingly, the case with regards to any new neighbour, including those born in the city.

> You get used to new people all the time; it's part of living in the area. When someone new moves in, you see people in the street having a nose, trying to suss out who they are and what they're about. You get some who'll knock, act like they're trying to be friendly but it's just about sussing them out, getting a feel for whether they're sound or if they're gonna be bother **(Ashleigh, 20, resident, Anfield.)**

The account of Ashleigh offers a glimpse at the process of assessing whether a new neighbour is a potential threat. While this process of 'sussing out' was common, particularly in very densely populated areas like Anfield and Kensington, I found that anxieties around newcomers who speak English, particularly those with a local accent, dissipated quicker than when the newcomer was perceived to be an 'outsider'. As with the findings around linguistic difference presented earlier in this chapter, 'outsiderness' in this sense was usually based on language differences or accent. There were exceptions to this, concerns around safety and crime were heightened when the new neighbour was a young male(s), even where that neighbour had a local accent. This concern around young males, which emerged in interviews with migrants and non-migrants, centred around a perception that they are "up to no good" **(Sahir, 53, resident, Anfield: Asylum seeker)**.

7.5.1 Suspicion and 'potential' threat

In the preceding section, it was noted that in areas with a transient population, newcomers can be positioned as a figure of suspicion. Whilst this

suspicion dissipated more quickly for some newcomers, for refugees and asylum seekers it was harder to break down these suspicions, partly due to the difficulty of building relationships and 'becoming known' to other residents across a language barrier. It must be noted that this was particularly true of Asian males and Eastern European migrants. Although outside of the focus of this thesis, with regards to perceptions that an area has become less safe, Eastern European migrants were often associated with crime and anti-social behaviour, as captured in the comments of Louise.

> They rebuilt them estates to get rid of the gangs, then gave them to Romanians, and them lot are up to all sorts. There'll be problems; they're treading on some toes locally, dealing and robbing cars in areas which other gangs control. **(63, resident, Norris Green)**

Louise's comments point to a fear that new migrants, in this case, Eastern European migrants, will lead to an increase in crime. This theme emerged in a small number of interviews and, mostly, focussed on Romanian migrants. More often than not, these comments emerged in relation to areas which residents already associated with crime and gangs.

Returning now to the way that refugees and asylum seekers are perceived to be a threat to a sense of safety, my findings suggest that, for the most part, this stems from the way that they are treated with suspicion. Leading on from this, this section will now present findings relating to the way that this sense of suspicion plays into a perception that refugees pose an unknown or 'potential' threat. As stated, the positioning of refugees as a figure of suspicion can play into fears that they are a safety threat. Through the narratives of residents, it can be seen that this suspicion around refugees underpins an abstract sense of threat. I include here the account of James as an example of this. Whilst conducting interviews, I spent time talking to participants about my position in relation to the issue of refugee settlement, and it was often at this point I would find some participants would question me on my stance or try to convince me that I was wrong or naïve. The comment from James captures one of these moments.

> "Are you cracked? Do you seriously think we should support them, welcome them in? How do you know who these people are? How do you know they're sound? **(38, resident, Greenbank)**

James' comments point to an abstract sense of threat, which emerged around refugee settlement. Whilst James would go on to list some of the possible threats, including terrorism and the grooming of children, his fears were always based on 'potential' outcomes. This abstract sense of threat is, then, an assessment of what refugees and asylum seekers in the area could do. For James, as was the case across interviews with residents who shared hostile views, this potential threat was drawn on to construct an anti-refugee narrative.

Whilst James suspicions played into fears around, for example, terrorism, for other residents this suspicion led to assumptions that they were potentially "up to no good" **(Elaine, 41, resident, Kensington)**. This was particularly true where participants were talking about encounters with groups or 'gangs' of (presumed) refugees or asylum seekers, as well as in relation to perceptions of refugees who reside in houses of multiple occupancy. It must be noted that a similar increase in suspicion emerged towards local gangs or groups of youths, particularly in interviews with male migrant participants.

Earlier in this chapter, I noted that for the most part, concerns and tensions play out privately and that practices are adopted, which enable people to negotiate their everyday routines despite the existence of tensions. Regarding concerns around safety, in interviews with both migrant and non-migrant participants, it was these concerns that were most commonly kept hidden in a bid to avoid potential confrontation. I include an extract from my interview with Sahir to illustrate this.

> **SC**: Did you ever speak to anyone about what was happening in Tuebrook?
>
> **Sahir**: No. Who would I speak to? If I call the police, it will make this worse. They will know I have called the police. If I tell them stop, or tell their parents, then it is making it more dangerous for my family. **(53, asylum seeker, Anfield)**

Whilst, as stated, anxieties around safety were hidden to avoid confrontation, during my fieldwork I was made aware of examples where these anxieties and the suspicion aimed towards refugees and people seeking asylum played out publicly. Simon's comments offer one example of this.

> I am in this Facebook group, like a neighbourhood group, so you can stay up to date with what's happening. I was a bit shocked at this, but in the group, someone had posted a picture of two Asian men looking through a shop window. The card shop at the bottom it was. It had the caption 'Beware, and then something like 'friggen asylum seekers up to no good' or something like that…Everyone commenting was suggesting they were clearly up to no good, probably on the rob, planning a break-in, perving at the girl behind the till. All these things just from a picture of two Asian men looking in the card shop window. **(62, resident, Anfield)**

Here, we are given a glimpse at how Asian males, who in this instance are presumed to be asylum seekers, are treated with suspicion. The presumed threat posed by these men was based on assumptions about their intentions. Simon's comments give insight into the way that concerns around safety, and the potential threat of refugees and asylum seekers can play out in a more public manner. Here, the presence of two Asian males stopping to look through a shop window, provoked an observer to stop and take a photograph, before sharing this, and their assumptions about the situation, on a neighbourhood social media page. Of note here, through the use of a Facebook group to share concerns and gossip, those commenting were able to do so through a public forum whilst avoiding the need to publicly confront these men. Thus, social media is seen as blurring the distinction between the public and private realm and contributing, to some extent, to a common digesting of evidence and views on neighbourhood matters.

The incident recalled in Simon's comments points to the way that individuals who don't fit into notions of what is familiar in the area, can be othered and treated with suspicion. Given that I came to know of this incident through the recollections of Simon, I have no understanding of what happened in this situation, beyond the sharing of the photograph on social media. However, regardless of the unknown intentions of the men, the

‘public’ way that this tension played out has led to them becoming unknowingly associated with potential criminal behaviour.

The accounts shared, so far, point to the way that suspicion and assumptions about refugees and asylum seekers can lead to them being positioned as a threat. As stated, this perception of potential threat was particularly true with regards to encounters with groups of presumed refugees/asylum seekers, as well as in relation to HMO’s. Consider the account of Andrew, as illustrative of this.

> I’m ashamed to admit this, I’m not soft, I can look after meself. But when you’re walking past them. When they are stood in a big group, loitering, that feels threatening. And as I said, I can handle meself, but hanging round like that chatting their own language, that does nothing to allay them fears, or make you feel less threatened. **(63, resident, Norris Green)**

Fears around groups of refugees have been touched on in earlier in this thesis. In chapter 6, where I presented my findings relating to the neighbourhood as a space of encounter, the emergence of concerns around, both, groups and HMO’s was documented. Regarding HMOs, I would like to return to the account of Ashleigh,

> They might not be up to no good, but I would definitely be worried if 7 Asian fellas rocked up next door. **(20, resident, Anfield)**

Of interest in the comments of Ashleigh, her concerns around HMOs were again resting on this sense of potential threat and on the assumption that the residents of the house in question might be up to no good. Adding further insight, I include here the account of Barbara, who spoke of her concerns that a house in her street has been converted to an HMO.

> The house on the end was a family home; I knew Nelly very well. She had lived in that house for over 50 years… As I’ve said to you, I treat people as I find them. That’s a worry to me though, I’ve seen them, 7 of them. 7 fellas sharing that little family home…they could be up to anything in there, a group of them all in that one space. **(77, resident, Kensington)**

The account of Barbara captures the sense of fear she has experienced in response to the HMO, based again on an abstract threat of

what this group of refugees could get up to. Across my interviews, specific concerns around encounters with, or perceptions of, groups of refugees and HMOs emerged. Of note, I found emerging concerns that 'grouping' and, seemingly, choosing to live in a group of "their own kind" **(Andrew, 63, resident, Norris Green)** was an act of self-segregation. This idea that refugees living in a 'shared' house are selecting to live with 'their own kind' points to certain assumptions about HMOs, aside from the misperception that this is always a choice. Of note is the way that residents who lived near an HMO assumed that the occupants shared a national or religious identity.

Further, there was an assumption that within these houses the residents lived in a communal way, with residents talking about imagining the occupiers "squeezed into the living room watching telly or whatever" **(Elaine, 41, resident, Kensington)**. These notions about life inside the houses are, perhaps, shaped by the fact these are, often, converted family homes and, therefore, tied up into experiences of living as a family. Barbara's comments about the former occupier Nelly and her family are, potentially, part of these assumptions. For the most part, then, the HMO is viewed as a container of this single identity and as an imagined community, rather than the contested and divided spaces that they often are.

One potential consequence of these assumptions around the HMO as a 'shared house', is the way that these narratives render the experiences of those within them invisible. Leading on from this and contributing insight into the 'shared' house as a divided space, I include the vignette below recounting my experience of visiting Marikya in the HMO where she lives.

> **Vignette 2 - A right to feel safe: feelings of unsafety in the 'shared' home**
>
> Today I visited a house in Kensington. It was a normal terraced house, like those up and down the streets that surround it. This was one of many homes in the area that have been converted from a family home to an HMO and was home to six women. We were greeted by a young woman called Marikya. [Support worker] had told me that we were going out to visit Marikya because of some problems she is having in her 'shared' house. Marikya took us to the lounge area, it was sparsely furnished with seating

space for 4, despite the six women who were accommodated here. Marikya told me that the women tend not to use the lounge unless they have a visitor. More often than not, the time they spend in the house is in their separate rooms, each with a lockable door.

Marikya tells us she is having some problems in the house. She is scared here and doesn't know who to speak to. One of the other women has got a new boyfriend; he is an Iranian asylum seeker. She has been letting him sleep in the house, but this is against the rules. Since that first time, he has slept each night on the sofa. Marikya said after the first week she would hear him moving about the house, downstairs. Until the night he came upstairs and tried to get into her room, turning the handle and pushing the door several times. He tried each door before returning downstairs. This now happens most nights, Marikya has started to barricade herself in – placing furniture in front of the door. Marikya has spoken to the other resident who tells her the boy has nowhere to go. He is homeless. Marikya told her that there are places in Liverpool where he can go to sleep, but it is not fair to have him here, there are other residents to think of. Marikya tells us that the boy is Iranian, and she knows what 'they' are like, she says he will be up to no good like the others. I asked Marikya if she had spoken to anyone else about this, for example, the representative from Serco. She said we are the first people, other than the other residents, that she has spoken to. She doesn't want to make a fuss.

"I have a house, at least, this is better than what I have ran from. But this is my home now, and I have a right to feel safe in my home" **(Marikya, 24, asylum seeker, Kensington)**

The experiences of Marikya present an alternative understanding of the HMO, illustrating a divided and contested space. With regards to concerns over safety, Marikya' comments about not wanting to make a fuss offer insight into the way that tensions and fears within these spaces can be obscured. For Marikya, there was a sense that she is in a better position now than she had previously been and she seemed fearful that causing a 'fuss' could jeopardise this. Whilst not suggesting that the experiences of Marikya are true of every HMO, the few I visited during my fieldwork left me with the impression that these are also deeply divided spaces through which differences and tensions are routinely managed and negotiated.

7.6 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to explore concerns that emerged in relation to refugee settlement, giving insight into tensions and anxieties that are obscured by the convivial practices of multiculture. Through the accounts shared, this chapter has contributed insight into tensions around three specific areas: *Resources, Language and Safety*. While the sections in this chapter each focus on one specific area of concern, the findings presented here reveal a common theme running throughout; at the heart of each theme lie assumptions and processes which lead to exclusion and perceptions of threat. Regarding resources, notions of 'local' identity and belonging can be seen to play into a social hierarchy through which needs can be prioritised. These assumptions around how need should be prioritised can lead to refugees and asylum seekers being perceived as a threat. Similarly, attitudes to language and linguistic diversity can exclude those without a shared language, again playing into a sense of threat, Finally, safety, the way that newcomers become the figure of suspicion can be seen to exacerbate perceptions around feeling less safe.

Building on from the understanding of multiculture presented in the preceding chapter, this chapter has explored some of the tensions and concerns that can be masked by convivial practices. Further to this, the findings presented here point to the way that these tensions, and the concerns, attitudes and assumptions which underpin them, are not simply obscured by these practices but inform them. This is illustrated, for example, in the way that assumptions around the potential threat to safety posed by refugees can be seen to shape the strategies used to negotiate encounters. In this regard, then, the chapter adds weight to Valentines call for a more critical approach to multiculture and what it obscures. Rather than suggesting that a focus on multiculture and the way people 'rub along' is naïve, this chapter instead points to the importance of research which explores tensions, with a view to understanding how they play into the way that multiculture is constructed, negotiated and practiced – both in the public and the private domains.

Chapter 8: Discussions and Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis aimed to explore and discuss responses to, and experiences of, refugee settlement in Liverpool. In the three empirical chapters that precede this, I outlined my findings in relation to the three research questions underpinning this study. These questions relate, firstly, to the positioning of Liverpool as a welcoming city, secondly, to everyday multiculture and the strategies which hold it in place, and, finally, to tensions and vulnerabilities that exist within this multiculture. In this, the closing chapter of this thesis, I return to these questions, discussing my findings in light of the theoretical framework outlined in chapter 2.

The chapter is, therefore, initially structured to address my research questions in turn. Firstly, on the question of narratives of welcome, this chapter will begin by exploring my findings in light of literature relating to welcome as a way to disrupt or push back against national policy. This section will then move on to discuss my findings as they relate to literature on narratives of place, touching on the fragmentation of the Scouse identity and a layering of competing narratives as playing into the atmosphere of (un)welcome at a local level. In relation to my second research question, this chapter brings my findings into a discussion with writing on encounter, familiarity and convivial capabilities. The chapter will then focus on findings relating to the third research question, acknowledging the existence of tensions not only as obscured by the convivial practices of multiculture but also as shaping and informing them.

Having brought my findings into a discussion with my theoretical framework and existing research in the field, this chapter seeks to look beyond the scholarly contribution of this thesis focussing instead on the policy implications raised by these findings. Finally, this chapter will close with my concluding remarks, reflecting on my exit from the field and the experiences that I take from my research journey.

8.2 A Liverpool welcome: Narrations of a 'welcoming' city.

The analysis of refugee settlement in relation to the positioning of Liverpool as a 'welcoming' city was listed as the first research question in this study. My intention in including this question was to critically engage with narratives of welcome that are not only central to the re-branding and regeneration of the city, but also a much-celebrated aspect of the ethos of the city (see Murphy, 2020), and to analyse these in light of contemporary experiences of refugee settlement.

With regards to the positioning of Liverpool as a welcoming city, my research found that at the city level 'welcome' was at the heart of a shifting political climate in Liverpool, culminating in the launch of its first refugee policy in June 2019. Conversations with councillors and council officials revealed that the emerging approach to refugees and people seeking asylum was framed within a discourse of welcome. For example, in chapter 5 we see how opening the council-funded homeless shelter, Labre House, to migrants with no recourse to public funds was viewed as signifying a more welcoming approach to the needs of vulnerable migrants. These findings resonate with what Darling (2010) observed in relation to City of Sanctuary (CoS) in Sheffield. Here, as per Sheffield CoS, positioning Liverpool as welcoming is not simply a matter of agreeing to accommodate refugees and asylum seekers, rather it is about rethinking how the city relates to asylum seekers and refugees and how it positions itself politically within broader debates on these issues (Darling, 2010). Offering shelter to migrants with no recourse to public funds can, then, potentially be framed as part of an emerging oppositional politics of asylum; by granting (limited) rights beyond those afforded by immigration status alone the city is positioning itself against central government policy.

Thus, my findings offer insight into the way that cities can challenge or disrupt hostile government policy (Darling, 2014), potentially opening up "islands of limited enfranchisement…amidst seas of sub-citizenship" (Sparke, 2018: 215). The opportunity for sanctuary cities to disrupt the hostile

environment has been commented on with regards to cities within the United States, Canada (Bauder, 2017) and, to a lesser extent, the United Kingdom (see, for example, Rotter, 2010, writing on Glasgow; Darling, 2010, writing on Sheffield). However, the current study expands this discussion into a much less researched city with a particular history of immigration and multiculturalism, Liverpool, contributing fresh insight into this act of 'pushing back' within a city at an earlier stage in this process.

The findings presented in chapter 5 showed that not only was positioning Liverpool as welcoming part of re-imagining ways of 'doing asylum', but also 'welcome', as connected to historical narratives of the city, was a crucial aspect of the identity and ethos of Liverpool. Therefore, narratives of place and place identity were also important elements analysed in relation to 'welcoming' refugees and people seeking asylum. According to Massey (1995: 186), "the identity of places is very much bound up with the histories that are told of them". Relating to this, my research found that the dominant narrative of Liverpool centred on Liverpool's history of immigration, often interwoven with family or personal histories of migration and settlement. These narratives were found to give rise to a discursive city-level ethos of welcome, which the majority of native residents framed as an important aspect of the identity of Liverpool and its people.

Hickman and Mai (2015), maintain that dominant narratives of place can provide insight into potential attitudes to new immigration. In Liverpool, a discourse of welcome was found to act as a collective feature of the city (Robinson, 2010), playing into an affective atmosphere (Payson, 2015) towards new immigration. From a theoretical perspective, then, this thesis holds a similar view to that of Hickman and Mai (2015). However, whilst a dominant narrative positioning Liverpool as a 'welcoming city' was found to underpin an ethos of welcome, this study suggests that alternative (co-existing) narratives of place, noted in chapter 5 as internal/external narratives, also play into experiences of refugee settlement. To explore the way that experiences of refugee settlement relate to the positioning of Liverpool as welcoming, there is, therefore, a need to analyse this in light of

these alternative narratives. Thus, the multi-scaled and multi-sited design utilised in this study offers added value to this research.

My intention in identifying these narratives as internal or external is not simply about indicating where these narratives originate. Rather these labels capture a significant aspect of identity in Liverpool - an identity that is simultaneously collective (see also Brown, 2019), setting itself against external narratives, yet also internally fragmented. According to Belchem (2000: xi) “Liverpool’s apartness…is crucial to its identity”. Here, Belchem is reflecting on the way that Liverpool’s identity is constructed as unique, resting on an otherness that sets the city and its residents apart from the rest of the UK. The findings presented in chapter 5, were residents frame welcome as “who we are” and as unique to the city, illustrate this sense of ‘apartness’. Thus, at the city level, an internal narrative of welcome is part of a collective sense of identity, marking Liverpool out from the rest of the country.

Further, this internal narrative of welcome was associated with challenging external narratives of Liverpool as dangerous, racist and crime-ridden - a narrative which also emerged in my interviews with migrants. For those within the city, the perception that the rest of the UK still associates Liverpool with these stereotypes underlined the importance of Liverpool’s positioning as a welcoming city. In this regard, ‘welcome’ was associated with regeneration and economic growth and was found to shape ideals around ‘typical scouse behaviour’. At the same time, conversations with those who had migrated to the city found that external narratives of Liverpool shaped an anticipation of (un)welcome, consequently playing into the strategies they employed, even if initially, for negotiating life in the city.

Alongside the coming together of opposing internal/external narratives of Liverpool, this study points to the existence of multiple internal narratives emerging within and across the city. This layering of internal narratives is one feature of the fragmentation of ‘Scouse’ identity, which is discussed in chapter 7. With regards to this, I argue that questions of belonging and being ‘of’ the city are further complicated by the fragmented and contested nature

of the scouse identity. In relation to narratives of place, the internally fragmented identity within the city plays into multiple narratives and urban rumours about specific parts of the city. For example, chapter 5 reveals narratives depicting the north of the city as racist and Anfield as crime-ridden. At a local level, these internal narratives shape ideas about belonging, captured in the framing of specific areas as 'not for people like me', and status, achieved through narratives that associate neighbourhoods with a certain level of affluence. Thus, whilst a narrative of welcome is, broadly, indicative of the ethos of Liverpool (as per Hickman and Mai, 2015), a layering of multiple narratives and urban rumours, shaping perceptions around crime, deprivation and status, is also a significant feature of the atmosphere of welcome as it plays out at a local level.

Returning to the existing literature associating dominant narratives of place with attitudes to new immigration (Hickman and Mai, 2015; Robinson, 2010), whilst this thesis is supportive of this association with regards to a city-level ethos of welcome, this study finds that the way these narratives are re-told and recast in light of contemporary experiences is also important for understanding how welcome plays out at a local level. The current study finds that in re-telling the history of the city, the dominant narrative presents a romanticized vision of the city; here welcome is associated with family histories and reflects upon a time when Liverpool's positionality in the national hierarchy was higher than it is now. The findings of this thesis indicate that tensions around immigration and asylum can emerge when this vision of welcome is contrasted with welcome as it is currently actualised through refugee settlement and dispersal. For example, chapter 5 offers insight into the interaction between this narrative of welcome, material features of place, and austerity playing into, what I observe to be, a *rationalisation of welcome* in areas of urban poverty. A welcoming disposition is, thus, weighed up against the resource implications of extending a welcome.

Whilst this discussion, thus far, analyses my findings in light of the literature on narratives of place and place identity, these findings, pointing to tensions and potential stressors on dispositions of welcome, speak more

directly to the emerging scholarship on the concept of welcome. With regards to this, the findings of this thesis offer insight into what Darling (2018) observes in relation to the fragility of welcome and its potential suppression (see Gill, 2018). For Darling (2018) one potential threat to welcome can be found in the way that an increasingly hostile public discourse has given rise to a sense of apathy and indifference towards refugees and people seeking asylum. Darling (2018) presents these responses as a form of compassion fatigue, reflecting a focus on the indifference induced in those typically framed as the 'host'.

Whilst this thesis has presented findings in line with this, found, for example, in the resignation to welcome captured in chapter 5, the current study makes two significant contributions to this line of thought. Firstly, whilst Darling (2018) observes this indifference as a consequence of an increasingly hostile public discourse, the findings of this study point to a similar sense of 'fatigue' emerging in relation to specificities of place. For example, in areas experiencing population churn, a sense of fatigue emerged around the ongoing process of welcoming new neighbours and the demands of building and maintaining community. Secondly, my conversations with migrants also point to the emergence of a sense of fatigue, illustrated, for example, through the resignation of migrants who engaged in and reciprocate welcoming gestures to avoid a discontinuity of welcome.

Thus, a focus on compassion fatigue brought about through a hostile public discourse potentially obscures these broader, more mundane, experiences of fatigue. It is with this in mind that the current study suggests the notion of *welcome fatigue* as a possible way of thinking through a more subtle form of suppression, or fracturing of welcome, occurring when welcome, whether as a disposition, experience, performance or labour, is weakened by tensions and stressors such as those noted above. Given the relatively small sample size in this study, I suggest that a potential avenue for future research lies in the elaboration of the process of welcome fatigue.

8.3 A ‘quiet’ life: The pragmatic negotiation of multiculture

Everyday multiculture was one of the key conceptual perspectives underpinning this study, feeding into the remaining two research questions. These questions, which focus, firstly, on exploring the nature of multiculture and the practices that hold it in place and, secondly, on the tensions which exist within it, are specifically addressed in chapters 6 and 7 respectively. Everyday multiculture is framed in this thesis as the reality of living with and negotiating diversity in everyday spaces (Wise and Velayutham, 2009). Whilst this perspective is, clearly, about experiences of lived diversity much broader than the narrow focus of this study, questions exploring multiculture were included in this study in light of literature exploring the recent and rapid process of diversification in Liverpool (Pemberton, 2017b; Pemberton and Phillimore 2018). It has been observed that one of the features of this process is a spreading out of diversity (Pemberton, 2017), driven in part by government dispersal policies which have seen new spaces of multiculture (Neal et al., 2013; Robinson, 2010) open up across the city. Thus, refugee settlement is understood here as a part of the shifting, or evolving, multiculture observed in established residents narratives in chapter 6.

With regards to multiculture in Liverpool, the findings of this study offer insight into the role that encounter plays in the production of difference (Ahmed, 2000; Darling and Wilson, 2016). Ahmed (2000) maintains that encounter pushes at the boundaries of the familiar, and, in doing so, facilitates the production of difference and otherness. Resonating with this, the findings presented in chapter 6 point to the way that encounters give rise to the recognition of the ‘local’ and the ‘other’. In chapter 6, for example, we can see how encounter shapes James’ understanding of the changing population in the neighbourhood he grew up in, framed by James as increasingly populated by ‘foreigners’. Further, the experiences of Reza, also captured in chapter 6, point to encounter as contributing to his sense of ‘otherness’. Thus, through facilitating the production of difference, encounter is found to shape the boundaries of belonging and of being in/out of place.

Contributing to this literature, the findings of the current study suggest that *the production of difference and otherness mediated through encounter is experienced more acutely in response to encounter at the neighbourhood level when compared to encounter in the city centre*. This difference could potentially be related to the way that these spaces are typically framed. In chapter 6, we see how Louise frames the city centre as commercial and for visitors and tourists while framing the neighbourhood and the local high street as a more intimate 'local' space (Back and Sinha, 2016; Robinson and Phillips, 2015). Thus, encounter and interaction with an increasingly multicultural environment in the city centre are associated with regeneration and economic growth, whilst at the neighbourhood level similar encounters are markers of a diversifying area, potentially, playing into narratives of marginalisation and cultural loss (see also, Back and Sinha, 2012).

Further, this could be explained in relation to the frequency of encounter and interaction at the neighbourhood level, potentially giving rise to a stronger sense of familiarity in these more routine, localised spaces. This is aligned with existing writing on the role of encounter in producing familiarity. For Hall (2012), a sense of familiarity is built up through an association between people and place. An understanding of who or what is 'local' is, then, built up through an accumulation of familiarity. Similarly, Blokland and Nast (2014) point to routine encounter in localised spaces as shaping the construction of a form of belonging resting on networks of familiarity. Given the frequency of encounter in local spaces, it follows that a stronger sense of familiarity will emerge. According to Blokland and Nast (2014), familiarity plays a crucial role in the development of a sense of belonging and the construction of 'comfort zones' in which residents are 'comfortable' with the diversity in the neighbourhood. While the current study contributes fresh insight into this, at the same time, this study also points to encounter as disrupting notions of the familiar, playing into a (de)construction of place. It was this disruption of the familiar that was found to underpin framings of diversifying neighbourhoods as either 'increasingly vibrant' and 'opening up' or 'left behind' and associated with experiences of cultural loss.

The findings presented in chapter 6 showed that not only is encounter part of the process of producing difference but also encounter facilitates the practice of learning to live with and negotiate difference (see also, Wise and Velayutham, 2009). Wise (2009) maintains that living with difference is not easy; rather, it is worked at and practised through encounter. In line with Watson (2017), this thesis frames these practices as underpinning or holding a convivial, or at least civil, multiculture in place. In relation to this, the current study contributes insight into the 'convivial tools' (Back and Sinha, 2016) that are drawn upon to facilitate the flow of everyday life across difference.

On the question of practices and strategies, this study found that the majority of encounters involved the practice of convivial or civil gestures. The findings presented in chapter 6, point to routine gestures, such as a smile or a nod as facilitating the type of belonging and familiarity observed by Blokland and Nast (2014). The experiences of Sahir, captured in chapter 6, offers some insight into this. For Sahir, the exchange of a smile between neighbours indicates, as per Laurier and Philo (2006) the openness of residents to him and his family, while the absence or withdrawal of these, for example, a downturned head, served as a barrier to the accumulation of familiarity. For the majority of participants these encounters never progress beyond this fleeting gesture, although I would like to note that, as part of this study, I did observe many occasions where similar gestures served as a prelude to further interaction. However, findings pointing to convivial gestures as feeding into a sense of familiarity suggest that the impact of encounters, as per Wilson and Darling (2016), extends beyond the immediate encounter.

Further, whilst positive encounter is seen as indicating openness and shaping a network of familiarity, the study found evidence suggesting that reciprocation is also important. Recall, as discussed in chapter 6, Suzanne's disappointment when her repeated attempts to use convivial gestures to engage with her Romanian neighbours was not reciprocated. In response, Suzanne withdrew from her attempts to connect with her neighbours, and in order to avoid confrontation, sought to avoid these neighbours as much as possible. While encounter can, then, underpin a sense of familiarity, at the

same time, the absence of reciprocity can disrupt or lead to the discontinuation of future contact. These findings are, then, aligned with Valentine's (2008) observation of the power dynamic at play in majority-minority encounter, captured here through the power of the majority to impose expectations on encounter. In this case, an expectation of reciprocity or exchange that, seemingly, does not consider any cultural differences that may also have been at play in this encounter.

Whilst the findings of this thesis point to the power dynamics of encounter, at the same time findings relating to the practice of avoidance to manage tension and avoid conflict overlap with, and return us to, the writing on convivial tools (Back and Sinha, 2016) discussed earlier in this section. According to Wilson and Darling (2016), being able to manage encounters well is a key aspect of negotiating city life. In light of this, I suggest that, alongside other practices, such as 'neighbourliness' and engagement, avoidance can also be framed as 'managing encounter well', and, therefore, can contribute to holding convivial multiculture in place through the management of tension. Thus, as observed by Wessendorf (2014: 400), "dealing with difference is characterised by both avoidance and engagement".

This balancing of being open and closed, of engaging and avoiding, are indicative of what I observe as a *pragmatic conviviality.* This pragmatism is captured in Solomon's (chapter 7) observations on wanting a quiet life or in the experiences of migrants who reciprocate a smile to avoid the discontinuity of conviviality. Here, then, these findings resonate with, and bring me back to, the writing of Blokland and Nast (2014) who observe the development of 'comfort zones'. Blokland and Nast (2014) maintain that familiarity helps facilitate a sense of comfort in their locality. However, this comfort should not be mistaken for happiness or acceptance; rather through familiarity, it is possible to find new ways to co-exist and be comfortable with or resigned to diversification. The photograph taken by Louise (photograph 2 -chapter 4) resonates with this. Here Louise was confronted by examples of behaviours she did not agree with, wine bottles, condoms and nitrous oxide canisters left behind by a gang of teenagers alongside graffiti depicting a

swastika. Although Louise was not happy with all of what she could see in the park, when she took her photograph, aiming to capture something that made her feel that her local park was not welcoming, Louise zoomed in on the graffiti, excluding the debris that she was more familiar with and, thus, more resigned to getting on with.

As I close this section, whilst this study was not in a strict sense a comparative study, the multi-sited design of this research contributes added value to my findings relating to pragmatic conviviality. This study found that while there was a common understanding that 'you can't get along with everyone', the pragmatism that underpins some of the ways that living with difference was negotiated was more common in certain spaces, such as the school. Further to this, this sense of 'getting on with it' was much more a part of everyday life in Anfield, Kensington and Greenbank when compared with Norris Green or Woolton. One possible explanation for this difference is the proximity of housing in these areas. In those areas where pragmatism was more routine, residents are mostly accommodated in tightly packed, and often very lengthy, rows of terraced housing with no front yard or garden, while in the other two areas there is more of a sense of space[37]. These findings, then, suggest that the spatial organisation of the physical environment is an important factor in shaping the practices that underpin multiculture (see also Burrell, 2016).

8.4 Quiet tensions and the fragility of multiculture.

As stated, the final question underpinning this study focuses on exploring the tensions which exist within and are obscured by convivial multiculture. In chapter 2, I draw on Watson (2017: 2639) to conceptualise multiculture as held in place by a set of "situated practices yet also precarious, and open to

[37] Norris Green housing is a mixture of older council housing and newer builds, mostly semi-detached or townhouse style with small, gated front yards/gardens, whilst in Woolton, although there are small pockets of terraced housing and apartment-style blocks, houses here include larger detached properties, with driveways and gated communities.

disruption and fracture". This thesis suggests that these tensions act as potential points of fracture. Therefore, a question specifically focussing on tension was included to gain insight into the potential vulnerabilities in both the evolving multiculture and responses to refugee settlement in Liverpool.

Related to this, evidence of a pragmatic conviviality, as noted in the preceding section, is in line with existing literature on the potential of encounter to obscure tensions (see Hardy, 2017; Valentine, 2008). Hardy (2017: 21) maintains that research into everyday multiculture and encounter should seek to shed light on the "real fears" and tensions, which can be masked by conviviality. Speaking directly to this, the findings of chapter 7 point to the *emergence of quiet tensions existing alongside a generally positive attitude towards refugees and asylum seekers*. Whilst this study revealed the existence of hostile and prejudiced views towards refugees and the politics of immigration, these quiet tensions, which were much more widespread, stemmed instead from specific concerns, such as resource implications in spaces of urban poverty or safety concerns around shared accommodation. The rationalisation of a welcoming outlook, where a commitment to welcome and providing sanctuary was weighed up against the implications of offering sanctuary in a city struggling to cope with austerity is an example of this.

The findings presented here resonate with Valentine's (2008) observation of a gap between the way that people negotiate difference in public and the views and opinions which remain private. In the current study, tensions were, mostly, found to be managed and quietened through pragmatic convivial behaviour. However, offering additional insight to this literature, the study also found that individuals who held hostile or prejudiced views were more likely to act on, or raise their concerns than those with more positive or conflicting views. The findings presented in chapter 7 offer some insight into how these concerns are acted upon, for example, through complaints to schools, engaging in discussions on social media or through graffiti. Thus, the blurring of the gap between the public and private sphere afforded, for example, by the confidentiality of a letter or the anonymity of social media, does allow these private views to leak out in public. The label

quiet tensions, then, is intended to reflect my suggestion that not only are these types of tensions more widespread, but they are also more likely to remain masked and, potentially, continue simmering underneath the veneer of conviviality (Hardy, 2017) while being indirectly channelled through different actions in the private and public domain.

Within the body of work exploring multiculture, findings pointing to hidden tension are consistent with writing on the making, and potential fracturing, of multiculture (Hall, 2015; Watson, 2017). Hall (2015) maintains that while conviviality, viewed here as facilitating the flow of everyday life, is the norm, these ordinary, convivial relations can be tested at points of crisis. These points of crisis can destabilise the practices which hold multiculture in place, potentially fracturing multiculture and allowing hidden tension to come to the surface (Hall, 2015). The vandalism of The List, captured in chapter 6, is one example which resonates with and offers an empirical contribution to this line of thought. As shown in chapter 6, this study reveals an understanding that the vandalism was potentially provoked by the use of the hoardings, in an area just outside of the city centre, to display a memorial to refugees without consulting residents, some of whom already framed refugee settlement as being 'dumped' on areas in Liverpool at the will of the council. Thus, the event of the installation of the list is viewed as fracturing conviviality which, for the most part, keeps these tensions hidden.

As Hall (2015) and Watson (2017) observed, regeneration was found to be a potential point of crisis. In her writing, Watson (2017) observes regeneration, with a focus on the gentrification of diverse areas, as potentially fracturing multiculture by destabilising and dismantling the local infrastructure and networks which support it. In the current study, as captured in chapter 6, regeneration, both in terms of improving local housing stock and the opening of ethnic enterprise in previously vacant retail units, was identified as a source of tension, particularly in spaces of urban poverty experiencing diversification. The findings presented in this thesis point to a perception that new housing estates destabilise and disperse existing communities, feeding into narratives of community loss, whilst regeneration through ethnic enterprise, was associated with cultural loss and framed as

replacing ‘local businesses for local people’. While community loss and the role of private enterprise have been already documented in other areas of Liverpool (Toxteth – Vathi and Burrell 2020), my research expands these findings on to less researched areas of the city, which are experiencing regeneration at a different pace and form.

Whilst I did observe incidents were these, so-called, points of crisis brought tensions to the surface, for example, a Turkish migrant opening a barbershop and calling it ‘British Barber” leading to public confrontations between the owner and some residents (Chapter 6), for the most part, tensions remained quiet and hidden and where found to shape and inform strategies for living with difference. The conscious decisions to reciprocate ‘neighbourly gestures’ despite anxieties, to avoid specific places and even the marketing of businesses as ‘English’, creating geographies of avoidance in increasingly diverse areas, are examples of strategies and practices which are shaped by the experience of tension. The findings of this thesis, then, while overlapping with existing literature on hidden tensions and the fracture of multiculture, raise the possibility that *not only can tensions be obscured by convivial practices, but they can also inform and shape them*. Therefore, the capacity to respond to tensions and concerns, even if pragmatically, and to find ways to manage these tensions can also be understood as informing emerging practices to hold multiculture, however precarious, in place.

In light of the findings presented in this thesis, this study acknowledges that convivial practices do not necessarily translate into respect for difference. At the same time, tension and hostility do not negate the existence of multiculture. Rather, the multiculture that is captured, albeit partially, in this thesis comprises and is shaped and informed by all of these dynamics.

8.5 Moving on: Implications for policy

Beyond the theoretical and empirical contributions of this study, the findings presented in this thesis also raise policy implications, particularly at a local level. As stated in the introduction to this thesis, a desire to inform policy and

practice in Liverpool was part of my motivation for conducting this study and, subsequently, my commitment to achieving this goal has formed part of my considerations and reflections at each stage of this research journey. Impact framed here as a desire to make a difference (Denicolo, 2014), is, therefore, embedded within this research. Thus, whilst my actions towards achieving this goal extend beyond the pages of this thesis[38], a discussion of the policy implications are included in this chapter.

Whilst the findings presented in this thesis are specific to the context of Liverpool, and the discussion that follows will focus on this context, it must be noted that they do pose wider implications. Notably, the findings presented around the question of underlying tension point to uncertainty, whether that be economic uncertainty, or the uncertainty posed by a changing and rapidly diversifying neighbourhood, as exacerbating underlying tension. Given that the current political and economic climate in the United Kingdom suggests an extended period of uncertainty, particularly concerning increasingly restrictive immigration law, Brexit and the impact of the ongoing Coronavirus pandemic, these findings raise the potential that these tensions may become more acute. There remains, then, a need for continued research exploring the impact of such an uncertain climate on tensions at a local level.

8.5.1 Informing local policy

Whilst this study indicates that the policy landscape in Liverpool has begun to shift, it also points to a gap between the discourse of welcome, whether related to the official discourse found in the 'branding' of the city or in connection to the city's history and ethos and the lived experience of refugee settlement as it plays out at a local level. This gap suggests that more needs to be done to develop policy and practice which better reflects this lived experience, and which addresses underlying tensions and the potential exclusion of migrants.

[38] For example, presenting preliminary findings at an impact event with academics, practitioners and policymakers held in Liverpool during February 2019, and a final policy brief submitted to Liverpool City Council in January 2020.

In the discussion which follows, I will focus on three themes emerging from this lived experience with specific implications for the development of policy in Liverpool: These are, *neighbourhood change, language, and information.*

8.5.2 Mitigating the negative impact of (neighbourhood) change.

Whilst Chapter 3 of this thesis notes Liverpool's 'global' history, it also highlighted the patterns of settlement and segregation, notably along racial and social lines, which were a key feature in the narratives of long-term residents (see chapter 6). Many of these residents reflected on the ongoing disruption of these patterns, observing diversity as spreading out of areas like Toxteth into areas which previously had little experience of diversity. While these findings have been commented on in existing literature (see Pemberton, 2017b), understanding the impact and potential community implications of this process of change and diversification remains at the heart of policy development within the city. Both the 'Mayor's Inclusive Growth Plan' (Liverpool City Council, 2018a) and Liverpool's new refugee policy 'Our Liverpool' (Liverpool City Council, 2019) reflect on a need to understand better the impact of diversification and refugee settlement at a local level. Contributing empirical insight towards bridging this gap in understanding, the current study found that in areas of existing deprivation, whilst a spreading out of diversity was framed as a positive change, specific features of these neighbourhoods, including transience and experiences of (or a lack of) regeneration, exacerbated a sense of unease around community change.

Whilst offering insight into the potential impact of refugee settlement in areas of deprivation, these findings also raise implications for the development of policy around community cohesion, housing and regeneration. With regards to community cohesion and the issue of transience, of which the growth of short-term rental properties was noted as a factor, these findings point to difficulties in building community in areas experiencing population churn. Difficulties or barriers to building a community in these neighbourhoods, which have been noted in this thesis, include navigating language differences, suspicion of newcomers, a lack of will to invest the effort to build community

and a lack of appropriate channels to raise concerns about residents or landlords. Better engagement at the neighbourhood level, as suggested in the new refugee strategy, may help mitigate some of these negative impacts; for example, community forums and improved opportunities for dialogue around concerns may be of use. However, the recent decision by central government not to extend the Landlord Licensing scheme, which had been successful not only in improving standards of rental property but also as a means to hold landlords to account (see Thorp, 2020), has the potential to exacerbate or limit the council's powers to respond to concerns regarding the private rental market.

With regards to the issue of regeneration, as has been discussed earlier in this chapter, this study found that, away from the city centre, regeneration through ethnic enterprise can be associated with experiences of community loss. These findings have potential implications for Liverpool's refugee strategy, specifically regarding the objective to help refugees access business development support. Whilst this support would potentially increase the capacity of refugees to integrate and facilitate interaction across difference, there is a need to be mindful of how ethnic businesses can tie into narratives of loss becoming a potential source of conflict, particularly in areas of deprivation.

8.5.3 Tackling the issue of language

The second theme which raises implications for policy is language, including ESOL provision and attitudes to linguistic diversity. Language is a central theme in existing policy in Liverpool, and this continues to be the case in more recent policy developments (see, for example, Liverpool City Council, 2018a; 2018b; 2019). Within this existing framework, it is acknowledged that language and access to ESOL provision are crucial to building an inclusive city and towards the integration of refugees and other vulnerable migrants. There has, therefore, been an ongoing focus on improving the availability of language provision in the city. However, and overlapping with Mackey (2019) the findings presented in this thesis point to the existence of barriers to

accessing language support; notably, childcare, long waiting lists and limited awareness of informal language support. These findings suggest a need for future policy which focuses more explicitly on addressing these barriers, for example, through the development of home-based or online language support. With regards to the development of home-based language support, I would like to note that in response to the difficulties posed by the ongoing Coronavirus pandemic, many organisations, including Lighthouse Liverpool (based in Anfield) have rolled out online ESOL support. There is, then, the development of language provision which can help address some of the gaps identified here.

Continuing with the theme of language, the findings presented in chapter 7, and touched upon earlier in this chapter, suggest that language can be a source of tension. While tensions around language have been observed in Liverpool (see Steele et al., 2011), the current study contributes empirical insight into language, and the lack of a shared language, as a tool through which migrants can be marked as 'out of place' and, subsequently, excluded. As noted in chapter 7, language and accent play a key role in identifying or associating a person as a 'local' (as per Boland, 2010a). The use of a language other than English in public not only marked people out as 'not from here', but for some residents was perceived as a choice and an indicator of self-segregation. Whilst there have been measures implemented at a local level towards developing a more multilingual environment, for a small number of residents in areas of existing deprivation these measures were framed as an unnecessary strain on already overstretched local resources. Beyond the provision of ESOL and informal language support, these findings suggest that more needs to be done to tackle negative attitudes towards linguistic diversity.

8.5.4 Addressing the information gap

The final theme to emerge with implications for policy centres on concerns around the availability of information. The issue of information has already been observed in Liverpool, particularly with regards to the sharing and

challenging of misinformation (prioritised in the recommendations of the Community Cohesion Panel, Liverpool City Council, 2017). However, this study contributes fresh insight into the potential impact of this information gap, found here as contributing to the social isolation of migrants as well as a sense of distrust in the actions of the city council.

With regards to the social isolation of migrants, the study found that a small number of refugees and people seeking asylum found it difficult to access information about the local area, specifically the area they were accommodated in. The narratives of migrants, such as Fatima in chapter 5, suggest that this gap in information can exacerbate feelings of social isolation, especially in the time soon after arriving in the city, and contribute to a sense of unwelcome. These findings point to the need for initiatives which address this gap; the development and distribution of comprehensive information (welcome) packs for migrants containing relevant information about the area, is one such example that may address this issue and support the initial settlement process.

Amongst the local population, the findings of this study are consistent with observations in 'Our Liverpool' (Liverpool City Council, 2019) which have noted a lack of understanding and awareness of the issues faced by refugees and people seeking asylum within Liverpool. Further, discussions with residents revealed that misinformation, around issues such as housing and benefits, were widespread. While these issues did feed into the *quiet tensions* noted in chapter 7, the study also revealed a sense of frustration that information around these issues was not easily accessible. This information gap was in itself a source of tension, associated with a lack of transparency and a sense of distrust in the council. The findings of the current study suggest that there is a continued need for community engagement to raise awareness of the issues faced by refugees and people seeking asylum. Further to this, more needs to be done not only to communicate better with all residents (established residents and newcomers alike) but also to consider the accessibility of trustworthy information, achievable, perhaps, through an audit of the existing channels for accessing information.

8.6. Exiting the field

As a resident of the city, my exit from the field will never truly be complete; however, as I reach the end of this thesis, I wish to offer some reflection of what I take from this experience. Firstly, this study has allowed me to appreciate more the complicated history of the city, not only concerning the issues of race, segregation, and diversity but also in relation to the experience of decline and how this legacy continues to shape the identity of the city. I leave the research with a desire to understand more about this identity, and what is noted in chapter 7 as the Liverpool 'Our', as both a force for inclusion and exclusion. With this in mind, and with the intention of exploring Liverpool's identity in light of the ongoing discussions around the legacy of colonialism following the recent Black Lives Matter protests, I believe there is a potential avenue to co-produce research at a community level as a way of exploring the production and subjectivities of the scouse identity in more depth (see Pente et al., 2015).

The narratives presented in the chapters of this thesis provide an account of the complexity and messiness of refugee settlement and how it plays out in Liverpool. This thesis engages with these narratives revealing that experiences of refugee settlement are at times fraught with conflicting emotions, fears, hostility and tensions. However, whilst my findings do shed light on hidden tensions and practices of exclusion, it is with a sense of hope, rather than apprehension, that I leave the field. This has been shaped by my interactions with organisations and observations of ad-hoc grassroots initiatives, as well as a changing political response in the city signalling a commitment to improving the way the city welcomes refugees and people seeking asylum. Finally, my hope for the future has been shaped through the relationships I have built with my participants. Regardless of the experiences and attitudes they brought to our conversations, my participants openly engaged in this process, asked questions about the current situation and, with a full understanding of my commitment to using the findings of this study to help improve the welcome that the city extends to refugees and people seeking asylum, offered their voices, their insight, and their experiences to enable to me do so.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Demographics of participants (refugees)

Pseudonym	Country of Origin	Status	Age	Sex	No. of children	Education level	Employment status and job (and previous occupation)		Time in the UK	Time in Liverpool
Alejandra	El Salvador	Asylum seeker	27	F	2	High school	Unemployed	n/a (hairdresser)	2 years	2 years
Ali	Iraq	Refugee	54	M	0	Undergraduate	Employed	Business owner (headteacher)	4 years	3 years
Amira	Syria	Refugee	32	F	3	High school	Housewife	Housewife	3 years	3 years
Amir	Iran	Refugee	25	M	0	Masters	Student	n/a (accountant)	2 years	6 months
Chen	China	Refugee	30	F	4	High school	Unemployed	n/a (retail)	5 years	5 years
Fatima	Iran	Refugee	25	F	0	High school	Employed	Caseworker (student)	2 years	18 months
Grace	Nigeria	Refugee	28	F	1	High school	Employed	Retail (teacher)	5 years	3 years
Habib	Cameroon	Refugee	54	M	2	Undergraduate	Employed	Support work (Carpenter)	4 Years	4 years
Hamid	Iran	Asylum seeker	26	M	0	High School	Unemployed	Volunteer	8 months	8 months
Mai	Vietnam	Refugee	47	F	2	High School	Unemployed	Volunteer (Housewife)	4 years	4 Years
Majid	Sudan	Asylum seeker	22	M	0	High School	Unemployed	Volunteer (Student)	18 months	6 months
Marikya	India	Asylum seeker	22	F	0	Declined	Declined	Declined	Declined	Declined
Nadim	Iran	Asylum Seeker	31	M	0	Undergraduate	Unemployed	Volunteer (Builder)	2 years	1 year
Nadira	Egypt	Refugee	46	F	1	Masters	Employed	Retail (business manager)	2 years	2 years
Pierre	Burundi	Refugee	27	M	3	Undergraduate	Employed	Care work (Architect)	6 years	6 years
Reza	Iran	Asylum Seeker	20	M	0	High school	Unemployed	n/a (student)	18 months	18 months
Sabiya	Pakistan	Asylum seeker	37	F	2	High school	Unemployed	n/a (Housewife)	2 years	1 year
Sahir	Pakistan	Asylum seeker	53	M	3	Undergraduate	Unemployed	n/a (business owner)	6 years	6 years
Sasha	Cameroon	Refugee	31	F	1	Undergraduate	Unemployed	n/a (nurse)	3 years	2 years
Solomon	Zimbabwe	Refugee	34	M	0	Masters	Employed	Retail (teacher)	6 years	2 years
Suraya	Iraq	Refugee	32	F	0	High School	Employed	Advocacy work (family business)	4 years	4 years
Zahra	Saudi Arabia	Asylum seeker	23	F	0	Undergraduate (partially complete)	Unemployed	n/a (student)	7 months	7 months

Appendix B: Demographics of Participants (Residents)

Pseudonym	Nationality	Age	Sex	No. of children	Education level	Employment status and job		Time in the UK	Time in Liverpool
Alicia	English	23	F	n/a	Undergraduate	Employed	Call Centre	23	23
Amelia	English	40	F	2	Undergraduate	Employed	Teacher	40 years	18 years
Andrew	English	62	M	3	High School	Retired	n/a	50 years	50 years
Anika	Swedish	34	F	1	Masters	Employed	Accountant	6 years	6 years
Ashleigh	English	20	F	1	High School	Unemployed	n/a	20 years	20 years
Barbara	English	77	F	2	High School	Retired	n/a	77 years	77 years
Carole	English	51	F	0	Masters	Declined	Declined	48 years	44 years
David	Welsh	55	M	0	Undergraduate	Employed	Civil Service	55 years	33 years
Elaine	English	41	F	1	High School	Employed	Retail	41 years	41 Years
Elenor	Scottish	67	F	1	Undergrad	Retired	Retired	67 years	36 years
Fred	English	70	M	4	High School	Retired	Retired	70 years	70 years
George	English	53	M	0	Undergraduate	Employed	Retail	53 years	50 Years
Graeme	English	69	M	1	High School	Self employed	Painter	69 years	51 Years
James	English	38	M	2	High School	Self employed	Roofer	33 years	33 Years
Joyce	English	67	F	1	High School	Employed	Cleaner	67 years	67 years
Louise	English	62	F	3	Undergraduate	Unemployed	Unemployed	57 years	49 years
Marie	English	42	F	2	High School	Employed	Declined	42 years	42 years
Maureen	English	61	F	2	High school	Employed	Care worker	61 years	61 years
Paul	English	58	M	3	High school	Self employed	Driver	58 years	58 Years
Robert	English	35	M	1	High School	Employed	Electrician	35 years	35 years
Simon	English	62	M	2	Undergraduate	Declined	Declined	62 Years	62 years
Agnes	Polish	34	F	2	High school	Employed	Retail	4 years	4 years
Suzanne	English	31	F	3	High School	Unemployed	Unemployed	31 Years	31 years
Yvonne	English	51	F	3	High school	Employed	Receptionist	51 years	51 years

Appendix C: Organisations

Organisation	Based	Focus
4 Wings	Liverpool City Centre	Support for women/survivors of domestic abuse
Anfield Sports & Community Centre	Anfield	Sports/Community activities
Asylum Link Merseyside	Kensington	Support for asylum seekers
EFC in the Community	Walton	Community football
Ellergreen Community Centre	Norris Green	Community activities/courses
Football for All	Everton	Inclusive football
Friends of Greenbank Park	Greenbank	Park based activities/campaign
Friends of Norris Green Park	Norris Green	Park based activities/campaign
Growbaby	Dingle/South Liverpool	Clothing bank
Homebaked	Anfield	Community cafe
Kensington Community Learning Centre	Kensington	ESOL, ICT, Job seekers courses
Kitty's Launderette	Anfield	Community launderette
Liverpool County Football Association	Walton	Community Football
Liverpool Lighthouse	Anfield	Choir
Liverpool Peace and Justice Commission	Greenbank	Campaign/information sharing
Liverpool Together	City Centre	Faith based Organisation
Love Walton	Walton	Community activities/campaigns
Micah Liverpool	Liverpool City Centre	Food bank
Movema	Toxteth	Community Dance
New Start	Kensington	Housing
Norris Green Community Alliance	Norris Green	Community/Children's activities
Nugent Care	Kensington	Housing/Care
Refugee Women Connect	Liverpool City Centre	Advocacy for female refugees
Rotunda	Everton	Community hub
Salvation Army	Old Swan	Church/ Community Sponsorship
Sola Arts	Toxteth	Arts Therapy
Venus Centre	Bootle	Community Hub
WHISC	Liverpool City Centre	Health support for women

Appendix D: Information sheet

Appendix 1: Information Sheet

This form provides information about this study. Please take your time to read through it carefully, feel free to ask any questions that you need to. If you need some time to think about taking part in this study, then feel free to take the form away to discuss and seek advice from somebody you trust.

Purpose of the study

This study will explore experiences of refugee settlement within Liverpool. It is particularly interested in understanding the experiences of refugees and established residents living in the city. The main purpose of this is to understand behaviours and attitudes in the city and how established residents and refugees interact and coexist within the city's neighbourhoods.

Who is conducting this study?

This study will be carried out be Samantha Carney. I work as a tutor and research student at Edge Hill University. This study is conducted under the supervision of Dr Zana Vathi, a reader in Social Sciences at the university.

What will be involved?

If you decide to take part in this study, we will spend approximately 1 hour discussing the theme that I have explained above. As I have explained, you can decide if you would like to participate and you can let me know times and dates that you are available and a location that is suitable for you. The discussion will involve me asking you questions, your answers will be recorded or, if you prefer not to be recorded, notes will be taken. During the interview, if I ask a question that you would rather not answer then that is your decision. If at any point in the discussion you feel you need a break, or would like to finish, then please let me know.

Will there be any benefit to me taking part?

I would greatly appreciate you taking the time to participate in this study, however I cannot provide any compensation for this time. However, your participation will allow you to provide your insight into this issue. The findings

of this study will be shared, both through writing and meetings with local leaders so that it can be of benefit to the local neighbourhoods involved.

Will there be any risks involved?

The research will involve talking about your own personal experiences and perceptions which may involve you talking about incidents or attitudes you find upsetting. If at any point you feel you would like to take a break or stop the discussion then you are free to do so. If you need to discuss your feelings or other issues this has raised for you, then I can do this with you after the discussion.

When is the study taking place?

The study will begin in May 2018, with the final written thesis being completed by September 2020

What information will be collected?

I will ask you about your experiences and perceptions of refugee settlement in the city. This will include talking about your own understanding of refugee settlement and your expectations, experiences and feelings as a resident/refugee in the city. As has been explained, this information will be collected in the form of audio recordings and/or notes.

Will information be kept confidential?

Yes, unless you prefer your participation not to be kept confidential. The information I collect during interviews will be transcribed and then I will read and analyse these so that they help me to write up my final thesis. I may use some of what you have said in your own words in my writing, however I will not include your name or information that you can be identified from.

Researchers Information/Contact Details

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Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Yours sincerely,

Samantha Carney

Appendix E: Consent Form

Title of research project: Everyday multiculturalism and the experience of refugee settlement: A case study of Liverpool, UK.

Name of researcher: Samantha Carney

I have read the information sheet	Yes	No
I have had the opportunity to ask questions.	Yes	No
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.	Yes	No
I agree to take part in this study.	Yes	No
I have read and understood the information sheet	Yes	No
I have had the opportunity to ask questions and I am satisfied with the answers	Yes	No

Name of participant

Signature:

Date:

Appendix F: Interview schedule (refugees)

Interview Schedule for Refugees

City Level

- How long have you lived in Liverpool? Is this the only place in the UK you have lived? (ask about prior experiences and how Liverpool compares)
- How do you feel about the city?
- Tell me about how you felt when you first arrived?
- Do you feel settled here? What does that mean for you?
- Do you think you will stay here?
- Do you have other family or friends in the city?
- Liverpool has a reputation for being a welcoming city, what are your thoughts about this?
- Do you think the council has a responsibility to support refugees coming into the city?
- What support should they provide?
- How have you been supported since arriving in Liverpool? What could have been done better?
- Have you had support from any charities or organisations? How have they supported you?
- Where are they located? Do you have to travel to them for support?
- Have you had any problems getting support in the city?
- Have you ever been asked what support you need?

Neighbourhood

- Which area of the city do you live in?
- How long have you lived in this area?
- Is this the only area of Liverpool you have lived in?
- How do you feel about this area?
- What type of support is most important when you first move into an area?
- Do you see yourself staying here or moving away in the future?

- Do you have family and friends in this area? Did you know anyone else in this area before you came here?
- What do you like/dislike about this area?
- What local places or services do you visit or use regularly? Why?
- Are you aware of any organisations that support refugees in this area? What support is available? Do you use these services?
- Do you think there is enough support for you in this area?
- What about the other residents, how do you think they feel about you?
- Do you think local residents have a role to play in welcoming and supporting refugees in this area? Can you tell me about this?

Everyday Encounters

- Have you made any friends since you came here? Tell me about these friendships?
- Do you think making friends has helped/will help you settle in?
- What is your relationship like with your neighbours?
- Do you have much contact with your neighbours, or other residents? Can you tell me about these experiences?
- How do they respond to you when they see you? (are they friendly/do they smile/ignore)
- Do you think that you could do more to build relationships with your neighbours? In what ways?
- What support have you had from neighbours/local residents?
- Have you experienced any problems with neighbours?
- Have you attended any local events that other residents have been at? What was this experience like?

Appendix G: Interview schedule (residents)

Interview Questions for Residents

City Level

- How long have you lived in Liverpool?
- Do you know much about your own family history, how did they come to live in Liverpool?
- If not born here – Why did you move to the city? How quickly did you settle? What does that mean to you, what does it involve?
- Do you think you will ever move away from Liverpool?
- How do you feel about the city? (ask about people/place/ethos)
- What do you think it means to be a local in Liverpool? (if not born here, ask if they feel like a local and in what ways)
- In what ways can people moving to the city from elsewhere become a local?
- Do you think that Liverpool is a multicultural city? Why? Is this a good thing?
- What are your thoughts about refugees and asylum seekers coming to the city?
- The council has said that it is committed to being a city of sanctuary? What are your thoughts about this? Do you think this is the case?
- Do you think the council has a responsibility to support refugees coming into the city?
- What support should they provide?
- Who else should support refugees in the city? In what ways?

Neighbourhood

- Which area of the city do you live in? How long have you lived in this area?
- Is this the only area of Liverpool you have lived in? Do you have family and friends here?
- Did you know anyone else in this area before you came here?
- What do you feel about the area you live in?

- What do you like/dislike about this area? What would you say are the problems in this area?
- Do you think you will stay here or move to a different part of the city? Where/Why
- Which local places do you visit most? Why?
- What about the other people living in the area, how do you feel about them? Do you trust people in the area?
- Are you aware of any refugees living in this area? How do you feel about refugees living in this area?
- Do you think refugees have had/could have an impact on the local area? Can you explain this?
- What do you think refugees feel about you?
- Is there any support locally for refugees that you are aware of?
- How do local councillors support refugees in this area? Do you trust the councillors with regards to their treatment of refugees?
- What role can local residents play in welcoming and supporting refugees in this area?

Everyday Encounters

- Have you had any contact with refugees? Can you tell me about these experiences? (probe where the contact happens or if no contact at all why)
- Have you built any friendships or relationships with refugees? Can you tell me about this?
- How do you respond to people that you know or believe to be refugees when you encounter them, for example in the street?
- Are you aware of events in the area to help introduce refugees to local residents? Would you attend an event like this?